

Burns

THE INDIAN RACES OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA



H. CARRICK. DEL.

"CORTEZ AND MONTEZUMA."

JAN 10 1973

THE

INDIAN RACES OF AMERICA:

COMPRISING

A GENERAL VIEW

(HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE)

OF

ALL THE MOST CELEBRATED TRIBES

THROUGHOUT THE CONTINENT AND ADJACENT ISLANDS;

THE DIFFERENT THEORIES RESPECTING THEIR ORIGIN; AN OUTLINE OF THEIR NATIONAL CUSTOMS AND PECULIARITIES; THEIR EARLY TRADITIONS; AND THE PROMINENT EVENTS IN THEIR HISTORY, PARTICULARLY AS CONNECTED WITH EUROPEAN COLONIZATION IN AMERICA.

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

CHARLES DE WOLF BROWNELL, A. M.

WITH

NUMEROUS AND DIVERSIFIED COLOURED ILLUSTRATIONS,

ENTIRELY NEW, MANY OF WHICH ARE FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS,

EXECUTED IN THE BEST STYLE, BY THE MOST EMINENT ARTISTS.

BOSTON:

DAYTON AND WENTWORTH,

86 WASHINGTON STREET.

1855.

Universitas
BIBLIOTHECA
Ottaviensis

ENTERED, ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS, IN THE YEAR 1854, BY

DAYTON AND WENTWORTH,

IN THE CLERK'S OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FOUNDRY OF S. ANDRUS AND SON,

HARTFORD:

W. C. Armstrong, Typographer.

W. S. WILLIAMS'S

PRESS.

E
58
.B76I
1855

PREFACE.

From the size of this volume, as compared with the variety and extent of the subjects under examination, it will be readily perceived that minuteness of detail has been impossible.

In describing the adventures and proceedings of the pioneers in the settlement and civilization of the Western Continent, the interesting nature of the narrative may have led the author, in some instances, away from the immediate object of his attention, viz: the manners, peculiarities, and history of the aboriginal inhabitants. He trusts, however, that where this may appear to be the case, it will generally be found to have resulted from the inseparable manner in which the history of the natives and those who have supplanted them is interwoven.

So far as has proved convenient or practicable, localities will be found to be in such a manner pointed out or referred to, that the reader who is ordinarily well acquainted with the geography of the country will seldom be at fault. Upon this point, the opening of the fifth book of "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith," is worthy the attention of all historical writers. It runs thus:

"Before we present you the matters of fact, it is fit to offer to your view the Stage whereon they were acted; for, as Geography without History seemeth a carkasse without motion, so, History without Geogr phy wandereth as a Vagrant, without a certaine habitation."

The works which have been carefully examined by the author in the prosecution of his design, and from which most of the facts embodied in this outline of history and description have been obtained, are the following:

American Antiquities and Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race; by Alexander W. Bradford;

The Biography and History of the Indians of North America; by Samuel G. Drake;

The Natural History of Man; by James Cowles Prichard;

Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians; by George Catlin;

The History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States; by Henry R. Schoolcraft, LL. D;
The United States' Exploring Expedition; by Commander Charles Wilkes;
Indian Biography; by B. B. Thacher;
Mc Intosh's Book of the Indians;
Travels of Capt. Jonathan Carver through the Interior of North America, in 1776-7-8;
Indian Wars of the United States; by William V. Moore;
The History of the Conquest of Mexico; from the Spanish of Don Antonio De Solis;
The Conquest of Mexico; by Bernal Diuz del Castillo, Regidor of the city of Guatemala, written in 1568;
Prescott's Conquest of Mexico;
Conquest of Mexico and Peru; Harper's series of Tales from American History;
Robertson's History of America;
The Invasion and Conquest of Florida, under Hernando de Soto, written by a gentleman of the town of Elvas;
Irving's Conquest of Florida;
The Territory of Florida; by John Lee Williams;
The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine Iohn Smith; from the London edition of 1629;
The Life of Captain John Smith; by W. G. Simms;
The History of the Indians of Connecticut; by John W. De Forrest;
Baylie's Memoirs of Plymouth Colony;
Barber's Historical Collections, in Massachussetts and Connecticut;
The Rev. William Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England; written in 1775;
The History of Philip's War; by Thomas Church, a son of Capt. Benjamin Church;
New England's Memorial; by Nathaniel Morton, published in 1669;
The Publications of the Massachussetts Historical Society, especially those relating to the Early Settlements in New England; including, among other documents, the Relations of G. Mourt and E. Winslow concerning the Pilgrims at Plymouth; Letters and Writings of Roger Williams; Gookin's Historical Collections, &c., &c.
Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois;
Stone's Life of Jos. Brant—Thayendanegea;
Memoirs of William Penn; by Thomas Clarkson;
Heckewelder's Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians;
The Life of William Henry Harrison, with a History of the Wars with the British and Indians on our North-western Frontiers;
The Adventures of Daniel Boone; by the author of Uncle Philip's Conversations;
The History of the American Indians; by James Adair, for forty years a resident and trader among them;
Cobbett's Life of Andrew Jackson;
The History of Georgia; by Capt. Hugh Mc Call;
The Adventures of Capt. Bonneville in the Far West, and among the Rocky Mountains; by Washington Irving;
Cox's Adventures on the Columbia River;
Barrow's Voyages of Discovery and Research within the Arctic Regions;
Back's Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition;
Greenland, the Adjacent Seas, and the North-west Passage; by Bernard O'Reilly;
Parry's Journal of a second voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage;
Mackenzie's Inland Expedition to the Arctic Ocean;
Purchas, his Pilgrimage;
The Modern Traveller; by Josiah Conder, Articles on South America;
Spanish America; by R. H. Bonnycastle;
Irving's Life of Columbus;
Indian Tribes of Guiana; by Rev. W. H. Brett;
Alexander de Humboldt's Travels in South America;
Prescott's Conquest of Peru;
Travels in Peru; by Dr. J. J. Von Tschudi, translated from the German by Thomasina Ross;
The Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili; by Abbe don J. Ignatius Molina; translated from the original Italian by an American Gentleman;
John Mawe's Travels in the Interior of Brazil;
Head's Journey to the Pampas and the Andes.

CONTENTS.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. PAGE

CHAPTER I. Origin of the North American Indians—Some of their General Customs and Peculiarities, ... 13

CHAPTER II. Religion of the Indians—Their Weapons and System of Warfare—Their Lodgings, Dress, Ornaments, &c. 25

AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER I. United States' Territory, &c. 36

CHAPTER II. Antiquities of Mexico, &c. 44

CHAPTER III. Antiquities of South America, ... 49

THE ABORIGINES OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I. General Remarks—Expedition of Grijalva—Hernando Cortez, . . . 54

CHAPTER II. Battles with the Natives—Conciliatory Intercourse—Donna Marina, . 63

CHAPTER III. Communications with the Mexican Emperor—The Zempoallans and Quiavistlans, ... 68

CHAPTER IV. The March to Tlascala—Occupation of the City—Great Massacre at Cholula—Entrance into the City of Mexico, and Interview with Montezuma—Description of the Temple, &c. 77

CHAPTER V. Seizure and Imprisonment of Montezuma—Execution of Qualpopoca and his Companions—Ominous Prospects—Expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez—Success of Cortez against him—Return to Mexico—Outrage by Alvarado, and Consequent Troubles—Death of Montezuma—The "*Noche Triste*"—Battle of Obtumba, and Arrival at Tlascala, ... 87

CHAPTER VI. Preparations for the Attack on the City of Mexico—Building and Transportation of Brigantines—Siege laid to the City—Assault by the Spaniards, and their Repulse—Sacrifice of Prisoners—Capture of Gautimozin—Conquest of the Capital, 96

CHAPTER VII. Rebuilding of the City—Extension of Spanish Powers—The March to Honduras—Execution of Gautimozin—Donna Marina—Modern Mexico, . . . 106

THE FLORIDA INDIANS.

CHAPTER I. Early Expeditions of Spanish Adventurers—Ponce de Leon—L. Velasquez de Ayllon—Pamphilo de Narvaez—Fernando de Soto: his Landing and Establishment at Tampa—Story of John Ortiz, a Spanish Captive among the Indians, 110

CHAPTER II. Progress Northward—Contests with the Natives—Vitachuco—Expedition to Cutifachiqui—Departure for the West, ... 116

CHAPTER III. From the Conquest by De Soto to the Year 1818—Missionary Operations by the Spaniards—Moore's Invasion of Florida—Bowles—Wars of 1812—Defeat of the Seminoles by General Jackson, ... 122

CHAPTER IV. Commencement of the late Florida War—Treaty of Moultrie Creek—Treaty of Payne's Landing—Osceola—Destruction of Dade's Command—Battle of the Ouithlacoochie—Conference with Indian Chiefs by General Gaines, ... 126

CHAPTER V. Condition of East Florida—Gen. Scott's Campaign—Garrison besieged on the Ouithlacoochie—Occurrences during the Summer of 1836—Arrival of Creek Allies—Colonel Lane's Expedition from Tampa—Battle of the Wahoo Swamp—General Jessup appointed to the command in Florida, ... 134

PAGE

CHAPTER VI. Pursuit of the Seminoles Southward—Encounter on the Hatchee Lustee—Conference and Truce with the Indians—Renewal of the Treaty of Payne's Landing—Neglect on the part of the Indians to comply with its Provisions—Capture, Surrender, and Treacherous Seizure of various Chiefs—Death of Osceola—Colonel Taylor's Campaign, ... 140

CHAPTER VII. Various Minor Engagements—Surrender of Large Numbers of Indians—Continuance of Depredations—Blood-hounds from Cuba—Attack upon a Company of Actors—Seminole Chiefs brought back from the West to report their Condition to their Countrymen—Colonel Harney's Expedition to the Everglades—End of the War—Indians shipped West—Numbers still remaining in Florida, . 145

THE INDIANS OF VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I. Expedition of Amidas and Barlow—Of Sir Richard Grenville—Of Bartholomew Gosnoll, with Captain Smith—Settlement at Jamestown—Visit to Powhatan—Improvidence and Difficulties of the Colonists—Exploration of the Chickahominy—Smith taken Prisoner—His Treatment by the Indians, . . . 151

CHAPTER II. Court of Powhatan—Smith's Preservation by Pocahontas—Supplies by the Indians—Newport's Arrival—Smith's Expeditions up the Chesapeake, . 160

CHAPTER III. Coronation of Powhatan—Smith's Visit to Werowocomoco for Supplies—Treachery of Powhatan—Smith a second time Preserved by Pocahontas—Visit to Pamunky—Fight with the King of Paspahegh—Ascendancy of the English, 171

CHAPTER IV. Distress of the Colonies—Martin and West's Settlements—Arrival of Lord De la Warre—Retaliations upon the Natives—Seizure of Pocahontas: Her Marriage—Peace with the Indians—Pocahontas visits England: Her Death—Death of Powhatan—Pory's Settlement, ... 181

CHAPTER V. The Virginia Massacre of 1622 and of 1641 (or 1644)—Death of Opechancanough, ... 191

CHAPTER VI. Smith's Account of the Numbers, Appearance and Habits of the Indians, 194

NEW ENGLAND INDIANS.

CHAPTER I. Conduct of the Early Voyagers—Arrival of the May-Flower—Samoset—Tisquantum—Massasoit—Weston's Colony—Caunbitant's Conspiracy—Trade in Fire Arms—Thos. Morton—Death of Massasoit and Alexander, and Accession of Philip, 199

CHAPTER II. The Narragansetts—The Pequots—Murder of Stone and Oldham—Endicott's Expedition—The Pequot War—Destruction of the Pequot Fort—The Tribe Dispersed and Subdued, ... 209

CHAPTER III. Quarrel between the Narragansetts and Mohegans—Uncas and Miantonimo—The Mohegan Land Controversy—Subsequent Condition of the Pequots and Mohegans, ... 219

CHAPTER IV. The Indians furnished with Fire-Arms—Situation of the Colonists—Philip's Accession—His Treaties with the Whites—His True Plans—Emissaries sent to Sogkonate—Captain Benjamin Church—His Interview with Awoshonks—Murder of John Sassamon, ... 228

CHAPTER V. Attack on Swansey—Collection of Troops—Fight at Miles' Bridge—Philip driven from the Neck—Church at Punkatese—Destruction of Brookfield, . 237

CHAPTER VI. Philip moves Westward—Attacks on Hadley and Deerfield—Goffe the Regicide—Destruction of Lathrop's Command—Assaults on Springfield and Hatfield—Expedition against the Narragansetts: Outrageous Cruelties in their Reduction—Philip on the Hudson—Destruct'n of Lancaster, Medfield, Seekonk, Groton, Warwick, Marlborough, &c.—Canonchet taken, and put to Death—Further Indian Ravages, 246

CHAPTER VII. Philip's Return to Pokanoket—Major Talcott's Successes—Church Commissioned by the Court at Plymouth—His Interview with Awoshonks: with the Sogkonates at Sandwich—His Campaign against the Indians—Philip seen: his Wife and Son taken—Death of Weetamore, Queen of Pocasset—Death of Philip, . 256

PAGE

CHAPTER VIII. Pursuit of Annawon and His Party—During Procedure of Captain Church—End of the War, and Final Disposal of Prisoners—Summary of the Colonial Losses, ... 267

CHAPTER IX. The Eastern Indians—Their Friendly Disposition—Seizure of those implicated in Philip's Conspiracy—French and Indian War in 1689—Attack on Cocheco—Murder of Major Waldron—War of 1703—Church's Last Campaign—War of 1722—Captain John Lovewell, ... 272

THE IROQUOIS, OR SIX NATIONS.

CHAPTER I. General Outlines of Character, &c.—Impressions of the Inhabitants of New England respecting the Iroquois—Garangula: His Speech to M. de la Barre, 280

CHAPTER II. Iroquois Tradition relative to their Former History—A Brief Account of the different tribes belonging to the Confederacy, and the manner of their Union—Incidents of Early Warfare, ... 286

CHAPTER III. Important Characters and Events of the Eighteenth Century—Brant—Cresap's War, and History of Logan, ... 295

CHAPTER IV. History of Brant continued: Connexion of the Six Nations with the War of the American Revolution, ... 302

CHAPTER V. Continuation of Revolutionary Incidents, ... 313

CHAPTER VI. General Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois—Subsequent Warlike Operations of the Nations, ... 321

CHAPTER VII. Condition of the Six Nations subsequent to the Revolution—Conclusion of Brant's History—Red-Jacket and Corn-Planter, ... 327

CHAPTER VIII. Present Condition of the Six Nations, ... 336

PONTIAC'S WAR.

CHAPTER I. French influence over the Indians—British Occupation of the Western Posts—Pontiac, and his Plans for exterminating the English, ... 340

CHAPTER II. Siege of Detroit—Battle of Bloody Bridge, ... 344

THE DELAWARES, SHAWANEES,

AND OTHER TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE AND WESTERN STATES.

CHAPTER I. The Delawares—William Penn—St. Tammany—The Moravians—The Shawanees—French and Indian War—Braddock's Defeat—Massacre of the Canestoga Indians—Daniel Boone, ... 348

CHAPTER II. Division of the Delawares—White-Eyes, and Pipe—Indian Confederacy of 1781—Attack on Bryant's Station, and Battle near the Blue Licks—General Clarke's Expedition—Disastrous Campaign of Harmar and St. Clair—Military Operations of General Wayne—Decisive Battle near the Maumee Rapids, and subsequent Treaty of Peace, ... 361

CHAPTER III. Condition of the Indians subsequent to the Peace—The Prophet Elskwatawa—Tecumseh: His Plans and Intrigues—General Harrison's Expedition against the Prophet's town—Defeat of the Indians at Tippecanoe—War of 1812—Harrison's Invasion of Canada—Battle of the Thames, and Death of Tecumseh, . 368

CHAPTER IV. Acquisition and Sale, by the United States, of Indian Land in Illinois—Black-Hawk—The Sacs removed west of the Mississippi—Return of Black-Hawk and his Followers—Defeat of Major Stillman—The Hostile Indians pursued by Atkinson and Dodge—Their Defeat on the bank of the Mississippi—Black-Hawk's Surrender—He is taken to Washington—His Subsequent Career, ... 376

INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

CHAPTER I. Early Location, Numbers, Character, &c., of the Catawbas; of the Upper and Lower Cherokees; of the Muscogees or Creeks; of the Choctaws; of the Chickasaws—French War with the Natchez and Chickasaws, ... 383

PAGE

CHAPTER II. Colonization of Georgia—Early Intercourse with the Natives—Tomochichi—Intrigues of the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth—Cherokee War of 1759—Attakullakulla and Occonostota—Murder of Indian Hostages—Colonel Montgomery's Expedition—Destruction of the Eastern Cherokee Towns—Battle near Etchoe—Capitulation at Fort Loudon—Indian Treachery—Campaign of Colonel Grant, and Complete Reduction of the Cherokees, ... 390

CHAPTER III. Captain Steuart's Agency—Disturbance in 1767—Visit of Tecumseh to the Southern Tribes—Weatherford—Sack of Fort Mimms—War of 1813—General Jackson's Campaign—Battles on the Tallusahatchee; at Talladega, Autossee, &c.—The Hallibees—Defeat of the Indians at Horse-Shoe Bend—End of the War, . . . 402

CHAPTER IV. The Removal of the Cherokees west of the Mississippi—Present Location and Condition of the other Tribes of the Southern States, ... 411

NORTHERN RACES.

CHAPTER I. The Esquimaux: their Manners and Personal Appearance—Accounts of Early Voyagers—Esquimaux Habitations, Food, &c.—The Kaiak or Canoe—Sealing—The Rein-deer—Uses of the Dog—Patriarchal Government—Effects of Foreign Intercourse, ... 416

CHAPTER II. The Esquimaux of Melville Peninsula—Their Stature and Costume—Snow Huts and their Furniture—Implements for Hunting and Sealing—Mental Traits, ... 426

CHAPTER III. The Knisteneaux, Chippewas, &c. 431

VARIOUS NATIONS AND TRIBES

BETWEEN THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

CHAPTER I. The Sioux or Dahcotas, and other Tribes of the same Race: Classification—The Mandans: Their Number, Situation, Villages, &c.—Their Cemeteries—Affectionate Remembrance of the Dead, ... 437

CHAPTER II. Personal Appearance and Peculiarities of the Mandans—Their Hospitality and Urbanity—Their Cleanliness of Person—Their Dress—Portraits of Mandan Chiefs—Contrast between the Wild Tribes and those of the Frontier—Mandan Domestic Usages—Games and Dances—Training of the Youth—The Great Annual Religious Ceremony—The Mandans supposed to be of Welsh Descent—Annihilation of the Tribe by the Small-pox, ... 442

CHAPTER III. The Sioux, continued—Their Mode of Life—Maternal Affection—Exposure of the Aged—The famous Quarry of Red Pipe-stone—Nature of this Material—Indian Superstitions respecting it—The Bison or Buffalo—Horses of the Indians—Various Modes of Hunting the Buffalo—Wasteful Destruction of the Herds, . . 455

CHAPTER IV. Indians of the Great Western Prairies—Their Summer and Winter Lodges—The Medicine-Bag—The Crows and Blackfeet—Races Hostile to the latter Tribe—Fortitude of a Blackfoot Warrior—The Crow Chief Arapooish and his Guest—Indian Conceptions of a Perfect Country—Story of Loretto and his Indian Wife—Adventures of Kosato, a Blackfoot Warrior, ... 463

CHAPTER V. Tribes on the Columbia and its Tributaries—The Nez-Percés—Their Religious Character—The Walla-wallas—The Chinooks—Mode of Flattening the Head—The Botoque—Canoes of the Tribes on the Lower Waters of the Columbia—Fishing—Houses of the Flat-heads, ... 473

CHAPTER VI. The Shoshonees, or Snake Indians—The Shoshokoes, or Root-diggers—Extent of Country occupied by the Snakes—The Camanches: Their Horsemanship, Mode of Life, Dwellings, &c.—The Pawnee Picts—The Nabajos and Moquies, 477

SOUTH AMERICA.

TRIBES OF THE WEST INDIES,

AND THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF SOUTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I. Indians first seen by Columbus—Landing at Guanahani—Natives of Cuba—Embassy to the Grand Kuhn!—Discovery of Hayti, and Intercourse with the Natives—Guacanagari—Wreck of the Admiral's Vessel—Honesty and Hospitality of the Native Inhabitants—Trade for Gold—Building of the Fortress of La Navidad—Departure of the Nina—The Ciguayans—Disorders and Destruction of the Garrison at La Navidad—Fort of St. Thomas, ... 437

CHAPTER II. Indians of Jamaica—Cruise along the Southern Coast of Cuba—Speech of an Indian Counsellor—Difficulties at the Fortress of St. Thomas—Its Siege by Caonabo—Efforts of Columbus to restore Order—Great Rising of the Indians of Hispaniola—Their Defeat—Tribute Imposed—Visit of Bartholomew to Xaraguay—Further Insurrection in the Vega—Bobadilla as Viceroy—Cruelties practised on the Indians—Las Casas—Incidents related by Purchas—Administration of Ovando—Expedition against Xaraguay—Reduction of Higuey, ... 495

CHAPTER III. The Caribs—Their Islands First Visited by Columbus—Origin and Location of the Race—Tokens of Cannibalism seen by the Spaniards—Cruise among the Islands—Demeanor of Prisoners taken—Return to Hispaniola—Destruction of the Fortress at that Island—Capture of Caonabo: His Death—Expulsion of the Natives from the Caribbee Islands, ... 506

CHAPTER IV. Indians of Guiana and Venezuela—Classification—The Arawaks—First seen by Columbus—Entry into the Gulf of Paria—Hospitality of the Natives—Raleigh's Visit to the Orinoco—Early Wars of the Arawaks—Victory over the Caribs—Maroon Negroes—Present Condition of the Arawaks—Other Tribes of the Interior—General Description, ... 512

THE ABORIGINES OF PERU.

CHAPTER I. Physical Peculiarities of the Quichuas, Aymaras, Atacamas, and Changos—Nature of the Country—Peruvian Works of Art, &c.—First Rumors of the Wealth of the Country—Expedition of Pascual de Andagoya—Francisco Pizarro: His First Voyage of Discovery—Almagro's Voyage—Contract of Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque—The Second Expedition—Pizarro and his Companions upon the Isle of Gorgona—Continuation of the Voyage—Return to Panama, ... 530

CHAPTER II. Mythological Traditions—Topa Inca Yupanchi, and his Son Huayna Capac—The Peruvian Capital—Religious System—Government—Agrarian Law—Llamas—Public Records: The "*Quipu*"—Agriculture—Marriages—Warlike Policy of the Incas—The Great Roads—Contentment of the Natives—Division of the Empire: Huascar and Atahuallpa—Contest for Supremacy, ... 531

CHAPTER III. Pizarro's Visit to Spain, and Application to the Emperor—His Four Brothers—Funds procured for a New Expedition to Peru—Vessels again fitted out at Panama—Landing of the Spaniards upon the Peruvian Coast—Plunder at Coaque—The March towards Tumbez—Battles on the Isle of Puna—Tumbez Deserted—Settlement of San Miguel—March into the Interior—Passage of the Andes—Messages from Atahuallpa—Entry into Caxamalca, ... 542

CHAPTER IV. First Interview with the Inca—Plans for his Capture—Entry of Atahuallpa into Caxamalca—Address of the Chaplain—Attack by the Spaniards: Fearful Massacre of the Natives, and Seizure of the Inca—Prisoners and Plunder obtained—The Promised Ransom—Hernando Pizarro's Visit to Pachacamaca—

PAGE

Challcuchima—Messengers sent to Cuzco—Immense Treasure collected at Caxamalca—Trial and Murder of Atahuallpa, ... 551

CHAPTER V. March towards Cuzco—Opposition of the Natives—Death of Toparca, and Murder of Challcuchima—Manco Capac—Entry into the Capital—Booty obtained—Escape of Manco, and General Insurrection—Siege of Cuzco—Reverses of the Spaniards—Civil Wars—Further Hostilities of Manco Capac—Cruel Treatment of the Natives—Death of Manco Capac—Reforms under Pedro de la Gasca—Tupac Amaru—Insurrection of 1781—Present Condition of the Peruvian Indians, . . 563

THE ARAUCANIAN RACE

CHAPTER I. Their Location, Appearance, &c.—Purchas' Description of Chili—Division of the Tribes—Peruvian Conquests—Agriculture, Arts, &c., among the Natives—Almagro's Invasion—Expedition of Pedro de Valdivia—Founding of St. Jago—Battles with the Mapochinians—Destruction of Spanish Miners—Peace with the Promaucians, ... 574

CHAPTER II. The Araucanians Proper—Character and Habits of the Tribe—Houses and Dress—Sectional Divisions and Government—System of Warfare—Courage and Military Skill—Religious Belief and Superstitions—Patriotism and Public Spirit of the Natives—Molina's Eulogium, ... 579

CHAPTER III. Army sent to Oppose the Progress of the Spaniards—Battle on the Adalien—Lincoynn's Campaign—Valdivia's March Southward—Foundation of Valdivia, and Establishment of Forts in the Araucanian Territory—The Natives roused by Colocolo—Caupolican made Toqui—His Successes—Great Victory over the Spaniards—Death of Valdivia—Invasion of Arauco by Villagran—His Defeat—Destruction of Conception—Lautaro's Fatal Expedition Against Santiago, . . 585

CHAPTER IV. Don Garcia de Mendoza; His Establishment at Quiriquina—Fort of Mount Pinto attacked by Caupolican—Don Garcia's Invasion of Arauco; His Cruelties—Expedition to Chiloe—Artful Management of the Cunches—Seizure and Cruel death of Caupolican—Subsequent Successes of the Spaniards—Retreat of the Natives to the Marshes of Lumaco—Indian Victory at Mount Mariguenu—General Summary of Succeeding Hostilities, ... 594

CHAPTER V. Viceroyalty of Martin Loyola—Paillamachu—Renewal of the War—Loyola Slain—General Insurrection of the Natives—The Spaniards Driven from the Country South of the Bio-Bio—Bloody Campaigns under several successive Toquis—Peace of 1640—Ten Years' War—Subsequent Treaties and Hostilities—Present Position of the Araucanians, ... 602

INDIAN TRIBES OF BRAZIL.

CHAPTER I. Physical Characteristics—Pinzon's Discoveries—Landing of Pedro Alvarez Cabral upon the Brazilian Coast—Expedition under Vespucius—Cannibalism—Colonization of the Country, and Wars with the Natives—Fate of Juan de Solis, at the Estuary of La Plata—Settlement of Bahia de Todos Santos by Diogo Alvarez—The Jesuits—Particulars of the Cannibal Propensities of the Natives—The Botocudos, ... 609

CHAPTER II. Success of the Portuguese Against the Natives—Their Contests with Settlers from other Countries of Europe—English Colony at Paraiba—Expulsion of Guarani Tribes from their Country on La Plata—Division of Brazilian Nations—Daily Routine of Indian Life in the Forests—Reflections, ... 619

THE PAMPAS INDIANS

Their Horsemanship—Their Mode of Life—Sir Francis Head's Description of the Race—Female Captives among the Indians—Trading Visits to European Settle-

PAGE

ments—Classification of Tribes—Change in their Condition by the Introduction of European Domestic Animals, ... 624

THE PATAGONIANS.

Early Exaggerated Reports concerning them—Race to which they belong—Nature of the Country—Terra del Fuego—General Description and Classification of the Inhabitants—Captain Fitzroy's Narrative—Physical Conformation of the Natives—Scantiness of their Clothing—Their Huts, Resources for Food, etc.—Fuegians carried to England by Fitzroy—Attempt at the Introduction of Agriculture on the Island—Pecherais described in Wilkes' Narrative of the United States' Exploring Expedition, ... 629

INDIAN POPULATION

Of the United States and Territories, ... 485

IMPORTANT ERAS AND DATES

Of Interesting Events in Indian History, ... 637

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

SUBJECT.	PAGE.
FRONTISPIECE—Interview between Cortez and Montezuma,	1
Indian Bow and Arrows, Harpoon, Basket, Pot, Bowl, &c.,	24
Indian Tomahawk, Kettle, Spoon, Pipes, &c.,	25
Portrait of Montezuma, in his Magnificent Regal Dress,	54
Hernando Cortez, from an Original Portrait by Titian,	56
Execution of an Indian Captive,	121
Portrait of Osceola, the Celebrated Florida Chief,	129
Portrait of Captain John Smith, the Pioneer of Virginia,	152
Pocahontas Interposing for the Life of Captain John Smith,	161
Interview of Samoset with the Pilgrims,	200
Tisquantum, or Squanto, the Guide and Interpreter of the Colonists,	204
The Colonists going to Church armed, during the Early Indian Wars,	209
King Philip, the Aboriginal Hero of Mount Hope,	233
Portrait of Captain Benjamin Church,	273
Seneca Lake,	288
Joseph Brant, (THAYENDANEGEA,) of Wyoming Notoriety,	297
Red Jacket, the Masterly Orator and Chief of the Senecas,	338
Ball-Playing, as practiced by the Western Tribes,	343
Portrait of William Penn, the Founder of Pennsylvania,	349
Colonel George Washington, as Aid-de-Camp to General Braddock,	352
Border Encounter, a Scene from Early Western Life,	360
Trapping the Bear,	361
General Harrison, surrounded with appropriate National Emblems,	368
Tecumseh, the renowned Chief of the Western Tribes,	369
The Eagle, a Type of Swiftness, Strength, and Superiority,	392
Indian Settlement, representing their Costumes, Tents, &c.,	393
General Jackson on his favorite White Charger,	409
Indians Watching for Salmon,	433
Indians making their Offerings to the Dead,	441
Indian War-Dance, as practised among the Mandans,	448
Indian Encampment West of the Mississippi,	465
The Bison, generally called the Buffalo,	472
The Grizzly Bear, abounding in the North-west Territory,	480
Buffalo Chase, peculiar to the Western Indians,	480
Portrait of Christopher Columbus,	489
Maquarri Dance, in the Lower District of Pomeroon,	512
An Indian Sorcerer performing his Ceremonies over the Sick,	513
Portrait of Francisco Pizarro,	520
The Inca Atahualpa before Pizarro,	561
The Passage of the Cordilleras,	577

INDIAN RACES OF AMERICA.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS—SOME OF THEIR GENERAL CUSTOMS AND PECULIARITIES.

Οἵη περ φυλλων γενεὴ, τοιήδε και ἀνδρῶν.

"Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
Another race the following spring supplies."—*Iliad.*

It were far easier to foretell the period when the extinction of the Indian races must be consummated, and to explain the causes that must sooner or later terminate their national existence, than to trace back their early history.

Even a succinct account of the various theories, with the arguments upon which they are based, as to the probable sources whence the early inhabitants of the Western hemisphere derived their origin, would furnish matter for a volume: we shall therefore do little more than allude to the different hypotheses upon the subject, leaving the reader to follow up the inquiry, if his inclination so move him, by the examination of works especially devoted to the discussion of this vexed question.

The want of a written language among the aborigines of America; the blindness of the system of hieroglyphics used by the more advanced nations of the continent; and the wild discrepancies in their fanciful oral traditions leave us little hope of satisfactorily elucidating the mystery by

any direct information obtained from the people themselves. Analogies in physical conformation, customs, architecture, language, and religion, must form our principal clue in deciding the question of their origin.

That America was first peopled by wanderers from the Old World seems to be a conclusion to which most of those who have treated on the subject have arrived. Exclusive of the supposed necessity for maintaining the truth of Scriptural history by deducing all the races of the globe from a common ancestry, abundant facilities for an intentional or casual migration have been pointed out by geographers.

The numberless isles of the Pacific offer ready resting-places for adventurous or bewildered navigators, and might have been peopled successively by wanderers from South-eastern Asia. Some of the natives of that portion of the Eastern continent possess a skill in nautical affairs which would abundantly qualify them for voyages as hazardous as any to which they would be exposed in crossing the Pacific from island to island in their swift proas. The near approach of the two grand divisions of the globe at Behring's Straits presents still greater facilities for a passage from one to the other, when the waters are closed by ice, during the severe Northern winter, or when they lie open, affording a free passage for canoes.

That the North-eastern portions of America were visited and probably peopled, at a very early date, by adventurers from the North of Europe seems to be fully established. Many wild and improbable legends indeed exist, touching these early voyages, and we can sympathise with the manner in which the old historian of Virginian colonization dismisses the subject: "For the stories of Arthur, Malgo, and Brandon, that say a thousand yeares agoe they were in the North of America, or the Fryer of Linn, that by his black Art went to the North Pole in the yeare 1360. In that I know them not. Let this suffice."

Modern investigation has brought to light abundant evidence of visits by the Northmen to Greenland and the neighboring American coast, at the close of the tenth and in the beginning of the eleventh centuries, and it is not improbable that intercourse had subsisted between the two countries at a much earlier period. The marked difference between the Esquimaux Indians and all other tribes of the Western continent points plainly to a separate ancestry. We shall speak more at large upon this subject when we come to treat of the natives of that vast and desolate region lying between the Canadas and the frozen seas of the North.

Vague accounts of islands or continents at the West are found in the works of many early writers. The Atlantis of Plato, the Hesperides, and a host of other uncertain fables have been tortured by ingenious antiquaries into proof of more extensive geographical knowledge than is generally attributed to the ancients.

Some theorists have indefatigably followed up the idea that we are to search for the lost tribes of Israel among the red men of America, and have found or fancied resemblances, otherwise unaccountable, between Indian and Hebrew words, ceremonies, and superstitions.

Others have exhibited equal ingenuity in carrying out a comparison between the Moors of Africa and the Americans, claiming to establish a near affinity in character and complexion between the two races. They suppose the Moorish immigrants to have arrived at the West India Islands, or the Eastern coast of South America, and thence to have spread over the whole continent.

However variant, in some particulars, the different nations of America may appear, there are peculiarities of language which are noticeable throughout the continent, and which would seem to prove that neither of these nations has subsisted in an entirely isolated condition.

According to Humboldt; "In America, from the country of the Esquimaux to the banks of the Orinoko, and again, from these torrid banks to the frozen climate of the Straits of Magellan, mother tongues, entirely different with regard to their roots, have, if we may use the expression, the same physiognomy. Striking analogies of grammatical construction have been recognised, not only in the more perfect languages—as that of the Incas, the Aymara, the Guarani, the Mexican, and the Cora, but also in languages extremely rude. Idioms, the roots of which do not resemble each other more than the roots of the Sclavonian and Biscayan, have resemblances of internal mechanism similar to those which are found in the Sanscrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the German languages."

Of the primary roots of the different Indian dialects, it is said that there are four more prominent than the rest, and which can be traced over nearly the whole continent. These are the Karalit or Esquimaux, the Iroquois, the Lenni Lenape, and that of the Cherokees, Choctaws, and other tribes of the South.

The great body of the American aborigines, notwithstanding the country over which they are distributed, have many features of physical conformation in common. The exceptions to this general truth, exhibited principally in the persons of the Esquimaux, and in certain white tribes at the West, deserve a separate consideration: at present, our remarks will be confined to the *red men*, and particularly to those of the present United States and territories.

The appellation universally bestowed upon this people is in itself a strange misnomer, and would hardly have obtained so generally, had not the error in which it originated been one which early voyagers were slow to acknowledge.

The Americans have, indeed, usurped the name of those for whom they were so long mistaken, and whom we are now reduced to distuinguish by the title of East Indians.

The general appearance of a North American Indian can be given in few words; the resemblance between those of different tribes—with the exceptions to which we have referred—being full as close as between different nations of either of the great families into which the human race has been arbitrarily divided. They are about of the average height which man attains when his form is not cramped by premature or excessive labor, but their erect posture and slender figure give them the appearance of a tall race. Their limbs are well formed, but calculated rather for agility than strength, in which they rarely equal the more vigorous of European nations. They generally have small feet.

The most distinguishing peculiarities of the race are, the reddish or copper colour of the skin; the prominence of the cheek-bone; and the color and quality of the hair. This is not absolutely straight, but somewhat wavy, and has not inaptly been compared to the mane of the horse —less from its coarseness than from its glossy hue and the manner in which it hangs. Their eyes are universally dark. The women are rather short, with broader faces, and a greater tendency to obesity than the men, but many of them possess a symmetrical figure, with an agreeable and attractive countenance.

It was formerly quite a general impression that the Indians were destitute of beards. This error resulted from the almost universal custom prevalent among them of eradicating what they esteemed a deformity. Tweezers, made of wood or muscle-shells, served to pluck out the hairs as soon as they appeared; and, after intercourse with the whites commenced, a coil of spiral wire was applied to the same use. It was esteemed greatly becoming among the men, to carry this operation still farther, and to lay bare the whole head, with the exception of a top-knot, or ridge like the comb of a cock, in which feathers or porcupine quills were fantastically interwoven.

Of the hideous custom of flattening the head, and the means by which it was accomplished, we shall speak when describing the tribes among whom it was practised.

No nations on the Eas[illegible] continent approach so nearly to the American Indian [illegible]odily conformation, as do certain tribes of Tartars. A similarity in habits of life, in dress, festivals, and games, is also observable between the two nations. This, combined with the proximity of their countries, and the ease with which a passage could be effected, would seem to afford a rational presumption as to the direct origin of no small portion of the red tribes of North America. Who can undertake to decide, however, as to what admixture of races has here taken place, or how often fresh arrivals, from different portions of Eastern Asia, have given rise to new colonies, or destroyed by amalgamation, the distinctive characteristics of the earlier people? Above all, can we account for the wonderful remains of antiquity described in another chapter, by referring them to the same races as were found inhabiting these wilds when the white man first ventured to explore them?

The difficulty of the subject is sufficiently manifest from the contradictory conclusions drawn by laborious but dogmatic antiquaries; and still more by the doubt and uncertainty in which more candid but equally diligent laborers in the same field have confessed their researches to have resulted.

There have not been wanting those who have maintained the theory that the Indians were indigenous to America. Some who have adopted this idea consider that it involves the doctrine of a separate creation, while others, that they might not discard the ordinarily received opinion that all mankind have sprung from a single pair, place the seat of paradise somewhere upon the Western Continent, and consider the Eastern nations as descendants of emigrants from America.

However interesting these speculations may prove to the antiquary, they must appear simply wearisome to the reader who is not willing to give the subject a full investigation. The two hemispheres remained sundered for so long a period, that the history of their former connection by intercourse of their respective inhabitants is now reduced to little more than speculation; and we will pass to matters of which we can speak with certainty, and which appeal more closely to our sympathies, and attract our attention with more lively interest than such groping amid the dim relics of antiquity.

A knowledge of the habits and peculiarities of the Indians can be acquired in the most pleasing manner by the perusal of their history, interspersed as it is with the quaint descriptions of old chroniclers, who wrote when the events and scenes were vividly impressed upon their minds, and before modern refinements had done away with that directness of expression which marks their narratives.

Such details make, moreover, a far stronger impression upon the memory than can be effected by a series of dry generalities. We shall therefore refer the reader to the historical portion of this work for most of the information which we shall attempt to convey.

In this, and in the ensuing chapter, we may frequently speak of usages and characteristics, as belonging to a past age, which are still to be observed among the more remote Western tribes. The difficulty of always drawing the distinction in a series of such general remarks as are here submitted, must form our excuse for such seeming anachronisms.

We notice in the Indian a remarkable gravity and innate dignity which leads him to avoid, with the most

scrupulous care, all involuntary or impulsive expression of his feelings. This is not confined to the occasions upon which he calls forth his powers of endurance in suffering the most cruel torments with apparent insensibility or even with exultation, but enters into all the acts of his daily life. He betrays no unseemly curiosity or impatience under circumstances that would naturally excite both in the highest degree. Has he been long absent from home on a war-path, or on a visit to cities of the whites; has he learned some great and threatening danger, or has the intelligence reached him of the death of those whom he most values; his conduct and method of communicating his adventures or his information, are governed by the same deliberation and immobility.

Returning half famished from an unsuccessful hunt, he enters his wigwam, and sits down unquestioned, showing no symptom of impatience for food. His wife prepares his refreshment, and after smoking his pipe, and satisfying his hunger, he volunteers an account of his experience. Catlin gives a striking description of the meeting between a chief named Wi-jun-jon, who had just returned from an embassy to Washington, and his family. He landed from the steamer at his home in the far West, "with a complete suit *en militaire*, a colonel's uniform of blue, presented to him by the president of the United States, with a beaver hat and feather, with epaulettes of gold—with sash and belt, and broadsword; with high-heeled boots—with a keg of whiskey under his arm, and a blue umbrella in his hand. In this plight and metamorphose, he took his position on the bank amongst his friends—his wife and other relations; not one of whom exhibited, for an half hour or more, the least symptoms of recognition, although they knew well who was before them." The conduct of the chief was of the same character, but, half an hour afterwards, "a gradual, but cold and exceedingly

formal recognition began to take place," after which, all went on as if he had never been absent.—This strange demeanor does not, by any means, result from real indifference, but from the supposed propriety of suppressing any outbreak of emotion. No doubt all the parties to the scene above described, were in a state of the greatest curiosity and excitement, and the family doubtless felt the most exuberant joy at the rēunion; but custom, or their ideas of good taste, prohibited the exhibition of a "scene." Those who are best acquainted with the character of the Indians agree that with them the ties of family affection are exceedingly strong and enduring. The most touching descriptions are given of the manner in which they mourn for the dead, and of the tender and faithful remembrance of lost relatives that no length of time seems to obliterate. Carver says, "I can assert that, notwithstanding the apparent indifference with which an Indian meets his wife and children after a long absence, an indifference proceeding rather from custom than insensibility, he is not unmindful of the claims either of connubial or parental tenderness."

The same author who had witnessed the most bloody and savage scenes of Indian warfare, and who was familiar with the cruelties and unrelenting spirit of revenge peculiar to the race, candidly bears witness to their good qualities:

"No people," he says, "can be more hospitable, kind, and free. * * The honor of their tribe and the welfare of their nation is the first and most predominant emotion of their hearts; and from hence proceed in a great measure all their virtues and their vices. * * * No selfish views ever influence their advice or obstruct their consultations. * * They are at once guided by passions and appetites, which they hold in common with the fiercest beasts that inhabit their woods, and are possessed of virtues which do honor to human nature."

The Indians are naturally taciturn, but fond of set speeches. Their oratory is of no mean order, and is distinguished for a pithiness, a quaintness, and occasionally a vein of dry sarcasm, which have never been surpassed. We have specimens of some of their orations, upon great occasions, which are models of stirring eloquence, adorned with metaphors and similes which breathe the true spirit of poetry.

The most pleasing traits in the character of these strange people are their reverence for age, their affection for their children, their high notions of honor, and their keen sense of justice. The great stigma upon the whole race is their deliberate and systematic cruelty in the treatment of captives. It is hard to account for this, but it really appears, upon investigation, to be rather a national custom, gradually reaching a climax, than to have arisen from any innate love of inflicting pain. It is perfectly certain that, if the children of the most enlightened nation on earth should be brought up in occasional familiarity with scenes like those witnessed at the execution of a prisoner by the American savages, they would experience no horror at the sight. We need not seek farther than the history of religious and political persecutions in Europe, or the cruelties practised on reputed witches in our own country, to satisfy us that the character of the Indians will suffer little by comparison with that of their contemporaries of our own race.

Among some of those nations which included an extensive confederacy, where a system of government had become settled by usage, and the authority of the chief had been strengthened by long submission to him and his predecessors, an arbitrary monarchy seems to have prevailed; but among the smaller tribes, the authority of the chief was rather advisory than absolute. There was generally a king who held hereditary office, and exercised the powers of a civil governor by virtue of his descent,

while to lead the warriors in battle, the bravest, most redoubted, and sagacious of the tribe was elected. These two chief offices were not unfrequently united in the same person, when the lawful sachem, from a spirit of emulation or from natural advantages, showed himself worthy of the position.

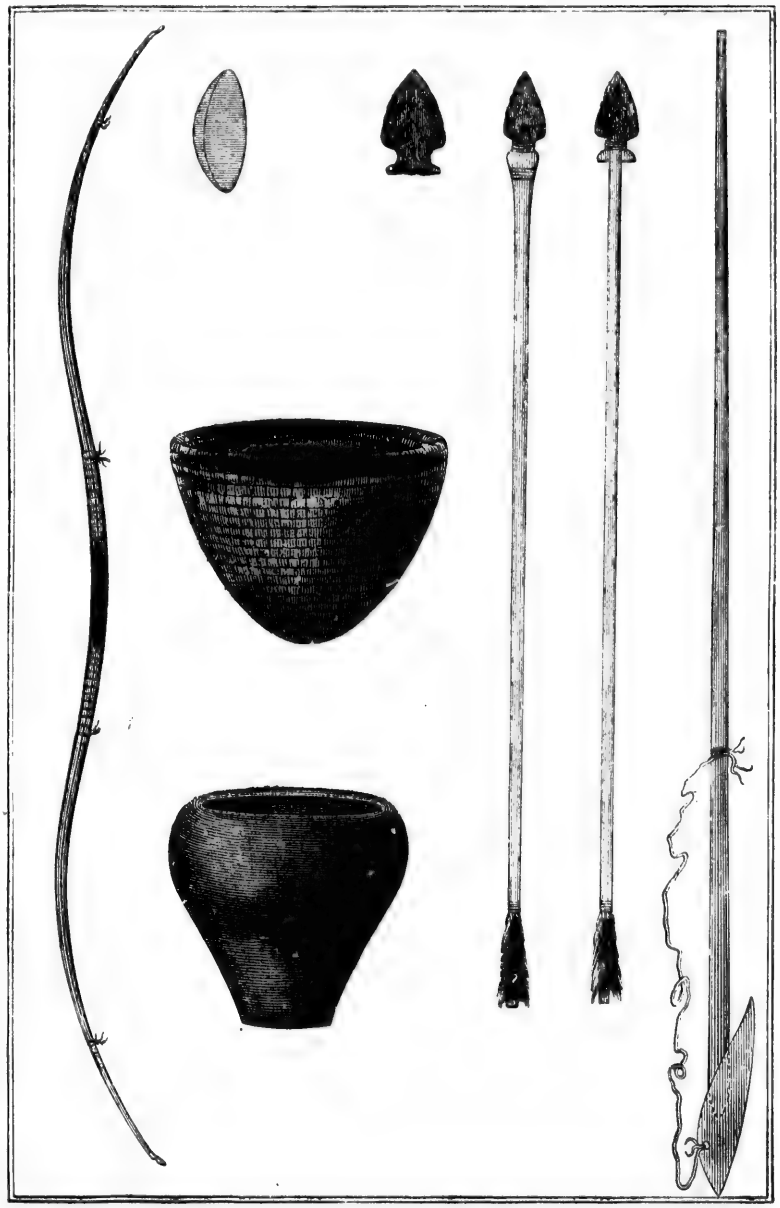
All matters of national interest were discussed at a solemn council, consisting of the principal men of the tribe, and at which great decorum and formality were observed. As the debate proceeded, the whole conclave, whenever a remark from the orator speaking excited their approbation, would give expression to their approval by a guttural ejaculation.

A natural instinct of retributive justice ordained that the crime of murder should be punished by the hand of the deceased person's nearest relative. An interesting incident, connected with this custom, is told in a notice of the public life of the Hon. Pierre A Rost, of Louisiana, given in the United States Law Magazine, for March, 1852. He is here said to have been the first to suggest the propriety of interference in these matters on the part of the State Courts. In a drunken fray, an Indian had been accidentally killed. "The relatives of the deceased were absent at the time; but they soon heard of his death, and came from the Indian territory to exact blood for blood from the homicide. He was advised to flee, but would not, and, in blind submission to the law of the red man, agreed to deliver himself on a certain day to be shot. The Court was then sitting, and Mr. Rost proposed to the presiding judge to prevent the horrid sacrifice, by giving the victim a fair trial by jury, many members of which were known and respected by the relatives of the deceased, and impressing upon the latter the necessity of abiding by the verdict, whatever it might be." This was done, and every thing was conducted with due form and solemn-

ity. The Indian witnesses gave the most satisfactory answers when questioned as to their ideas of the obligation of an oath, and, after a full hearing, the defendant was acquitted. The decision was translated to the complainants, and they were told that to kill the prisoner would now be murder, and would subject them to the penalties of that crime.

"Mr. Rost then rose, and stated to the Court that the prosecutors had left their hunting-ground to come and avenge the death of their relative, as it was their duty to do; that justice had been done to the accused, but that was not sufficient. Justice must also be done to the other side; they must be indemnified for the inconvenience they had been put to, and the loss they had sustained; and, as the coffers of the treasury would not unlock at the bidding of his honor, he moved that the bar, jury, and by-standers, contribute a sufficient amount to satisfy them. This was done as soon as proposed, and the prosecutors declared themselves satisfied."

The institution of marriage among the American Indians is by no means so restrictive a system as that adopted by enlightened nations. It is for the most part dissoluble at the pleasure of the parties, and polygamy is extensively practised. As with other barbarous nations, the woman is compelled to undergo the drudgery of daily labor, while her lord and master lounges indolently about the village, except at times when his energies are called forth for hunting or war. When once engaged in these pursuits, his fixedness of purpose, and the readiness with which he will undergo the extremes of toil, exposure, hunger, and privation, is marvellous.



INDIAN BOW AND ARROWS, HARPOON, POT, &c.



INDIAN TOMAHAWK, KETTLE, SPOON, PIPES, &c.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION OF THE INDIANS—THEIR WEAPONS, AND SYSTEM OF WARFARE—THEIR LODGINGS, DRESS, ORNAMENTS, ETC.

"Yet simple nature to his hope has given,
Behind the cloud-topp'd hill an humbler heaven;
Some safer world, in depths of woods embraced,
Some happier island in the watery waste."—POPE.

THE Indians, before receiving instruction from Europeans, generally believed in the existence of a Supreme Deity, embodying a principle of universal benevolence, and that to him their gratitude was due for all natural benefits.

On the other hand, they stood in fear of a spirit of evil, whose influence upon human affairs they considered as being more direct and familiar. To this being, known among many tribes as Hobamocko, much more assiduous devotion was paid than to the Great Spirit, it being far more essential in their view to deprecate the wrath of a terrible enemy, than to seek the favor of one already perfectly well disposed towards his creatures. Besides these two superior deities, a sort of fanciful mythology, not unlike that of many ancient Eastern nations, invested every notable object with its tutelary divinity, and bestowed on each individual his guardian spirit.

A general idea that the good would be rewarded, and the bad punished, was entertained. Far away to the warm South-west, a pleasant land was fabled, in which the hunter, after death, should pursue his favorite employment in the midst of abundance, and a stranger for ever to want or fear;

"Where everlasting Autumn lies
On yellow woods and sunny skies."

Their heaven was as far removed from the sensual paradise of the Mahometans, as from the pure abstractions of an enlightened religion. Ease, comfort, and a sufficiency for the natural wants, seemed all-sufficient to these simple children of nature, to render an eternity delightful.

The description handed down to us of the Indian powwows or conjurers, and their medicine-men, derive an additional piquancy and interest from the fact, that those who detail them were generally as superstitious as the poor natives themselves. We might cite pages in which the necromantic performances of the red men are spoken of with all the pious horror that would naturally be excited by what were considered the direct operations of the devil, as displayed in the works of his children. Winslow, taking occasion to explain the meaning of the word "Paniese," often applied to notable warriors in New England, says, "The Panieses are men of great courage and wisdome, and to these also the deuill appeareth more familiarly than to others, and, as we conceiue, maketh couenant with them to preserue them from death by wounds with arrowes, knives, hatchets, &c."

The works of the learned divine, Cotton Mather, are filled with similar extravagancies.

These powwows, says Gookin, "are partly wizards and witches, holding familiarity with Satan, that evil one; and partly are physicians, and make use, at least in show, of herbs and roots for curing the sick and diseased. These are sent for by the sick and wounded; and by their diabolical spells, mutterings, exorcisms, they seem to do wonders. They use extraordinary strange motions of their bodies, insomuch that they sweat until they foam; and thus they continue for some hours together, stroking and hovering over the sick.—These powwows are reputed, and I conceive justly, to hold familiarity with the devil."

Wherever the Indians have enjoyed free intercourse

with the whites, they have been no less eager to adopt than apt to acquire the use of their more efficacious weapons. It is of the primitive instruments for offence or defence that we shall now speak. Scattered over the whole country, even at the present day, small triangular bits of wrought flint, quartz, or other stone are turned up by the plough, or seen lying on the surface of the ground. These arrow-heads, with occasionally one of a larger size, which might have served for a lance, a stone tomahawk, a rude pestle, or the fragment of a bowl of the same material, constitute almost the only marks now visible, in the thickly settled Eastern states, of the race that formerly inhabited them. The opening of a tomb sometimes brings to light other relics, and various specimens of native art have been preserved among us from generation to generation, as curious relics of antiquity; but until we arrive at the Western tumuli, (commencing at the state of New York) we find but slight impressions upon soil at the hands of the red men, and the few and simple articles to which we have alluded, constitute the most important productions of their skill, except those formed from a perishable material.

How the arrow and lance heads could have been attached with any degree of firmness to the wood, seems almost incomprehensible. Captain Smith describes a species of glue which assisted in accomplishing this object, but the shank or portion of the stone that entered the wood is in some of the specimens so short and ill defined, that it seems impossible that it should have been held firm in its place by such means. The arrow-heads were chipped into shape, presenting something the same surface as a gun-flint, while the tomahawks and pestles, being of a less intractable material, were ground smooth, and some of them were highly polished. A handle was commonly affixed to the "tom-hog" or tomahawk by inserting it in a split sapling,

and waiting for the wood to grow firmly around it; after which, it was cut off at the requisite length.

The Indian bow was shorter than that formerly used in England, and was so stiff as to require great strength or skill to bend it. It became a much more effective weapon after the introduction of steel or iron arrow-heads, which quickly superseded those of stone. Clubs, sometimes armed with flints, with the bow and tomahawk, constitute the principal weapon of the race. Daggers of flint or bone, and shields of buffalo-hide, were in use among some of the Western tribes.

Divided into innumerable petty nations, nearly the whole Indian population lived in a state of insecurity, from the constant hostility which prevailed between different tribes. So strong a clannish spirit as they all exhibited has seldom been noticed in any country, and the bitterest hatred was inherited by every individual towards the members of an unfriendly tribe. War, as in most nations, whether barbarous or enlightened, was ever esteemed the most honorable employment. The manner in which hostilities were conducted will appear by a detail of some of the more noted Indian wars, as given in the ensuing chapters of this work. The whole was a system of stratagem and surprise; a pitched battle in an open field was almost unknown, and greater honor was ascribed to the chief who, by a night attack, destroyed his enemies at a disadvantage, and brought away their scalps in triumph, without loss to his own people, than to deeds involving the greatest personal exposure. The remorseless cruelty with which women and children were destroyed in the heat of conflict, has furnished a theme for many a tale of horror.

Previous to a declaration of war against another tribe, the chief men and councillors of the nation were in the habit of holding solemn consultations, accompanied by numerous fantastic ceremonies. When fully resolved upon

hostilities, the first step was to secure the assistance of as many of the neighboring tribes as possible, for which purpose ambassadors were sent, to set forth the advantages of the union, and to cement a treaty by exchange of wampum. When all was ready, a hatchet or other weapon, painted red, was sent as an intimation to the enemy of what was in store. We are told that the reception of this ominous token, frequently excited such rage in the minds of those to whom it was sent; "that in the first transports of their fury, a small party of them would issue forth, without waiting for permission from the elder chiefs, and, slaying the first of the offending nation they met, cut open the body, and stick a hatchet, of the same kind as that they had just received, into the heart of their slaughtered foe."

When, weary with the war, either party desired to terminate hostilities, the message was sent under the protective influence of the calumet, or pipe of peace, which, like a flag of truce among other nations, every where secured the person of those who bore it. This pipe, so widely celebrated, and of such universal use, was most elaborately carved and bedecked. Each nation had its own peculiar style of ornament for this all-important symbol, which was known to all the neighboring tribes. A solemn and ceremonious smoking of the calumet, formed the token of ratification to every treaty. When used at the conclusion of a peace, the painted hatchet was buried in the ground, and belts of wampum, so figured and arranged as to commemorate the essential articles of the pacific agreement, were presented, to be kept as a perpetual memorial.

The treatment of captives exhibited the opposite extremes of cruelty and kindness. Greatly to the credit of the race, it was observed that, in most instances, white women who fell into their hands met with no outrage or indignity. They were generally kindly treated, and every respect was paid to their feelings. The men taken prison-

ers of war, were either adopted to supply the place of those who had fallen in battle,—in which case they were to undertake all the responsibilities, and were entitled to all the privileges of the one in whose place they stood,—or they were solemnly devoted to death, by the most refined and cruel torments that diabolical ingenuity could devise.

On such occasions, all his native powers of stoical endurance were called forth on the part of the doomed warrior. When told what was the fate before him, he would briefly express his satisfaction; and when led to the stake, and subjected to every torture, by fire and mutilation, he would maintain a proud composure, recounting his exploits, and the injuries which he had inflicted upon his tormentors in former battles, taunting them with their unskilfulness in the art, and describing the superior manner in which he and his friends had tortured their relatives. Not unfrequently the rage of the surrounding company would be so excited by these expressions of contempt, and by their inability to break the warrior's spirit, that some of them would rush upon him, and dispatch him at once by a blow of the tomahawk.

The habitations and clothing of the Indians varied greatly with the temperature of the climate. In the warm regions of the South, a slight covering proved sufficient, while to resist the severity of a New England winter very efficient precautions were taken. The usual manner of building their wigwams, was by fixing a row of poles firmly in the ground, in the form of a circle, and then bending and confining the tops together in the center. A hole was left for the smoke of the fire to escape, at the top of the cabin; every other part being warmly and closely covered with matting. A tight screen hung over

the doorway, which was raised when any one entered, and then allowed to fall into its place.

A species of matting was prepared by peeling the bark from trees, and subjecting it, packed in layers, to a heavy pressure. With this material, or with mats woven from rushes, &c., the walls of the huts were so closely thatched, as to effectually resist wind and weather.

Some of these wigwams were of great size, being from fifty to a hundred feet in length, but the generality were of dimensions suitable to a single family. Their bedding consisted of mattresses disposed in bunks attached to the walls, or upon low movable couches. Bear and deer skins furnished additional covering. Their other furniture and household utensils were simple in the extreme. Clay or earthern pots, wooden platters, bowls and spoons, and pails ingeniously fashioned of birch bark, served their purpose for cookery and the table. They were skilled in basket-making.

In many of their towns and villages, the wigwams were set in orderly rows, with an open space or court near the centre; while the whole was surrounded by a strong palisade, having but one or two narrow entrances. For spirited descriptions and sketches of the modern Indian towns of the extreme West, the reader is referred to the valuable works of Mr. George Catlin. In many respects it will be perceived that old customs are still observed.

The clothing of the Indians consisted mostly of skins, dressed with no little skill. Leggins of deer skins, with a hand's breadth of the material hanging loose at the side seam, and often highly ornamented with fringe and embroidery; moccasins of buck, elk, or buffalo skin; and a garment of various fashion, from a simple cincture about the loins, to a warm and ornamental mantle or coat, completed the equipment of the men.

Very rarely, even in our own times, do we find Indians

who are willing to submit to the restraining and inconvenient dress of the whites. They have always been accustomed to leave the thigh bare, and about the neck they can endure none of the clumsy and disagreeable bandages in such universal use among civilized nations. "Those who wear shirts," says Carver, "never make them fast, either at the wrist or collar; this would be a most insufferable confinement to them."

The women wore a short frock, reaching to the knees; their covering for the legs and feet were similar to that worn by the men. In some portions of the country, very beautiful specimens of ornamental mantles, covered with neatly-arranged feathers, were seen and described by early writers. Colored porcupine quills were in general use, both for stitching and ornamenting the clothing and other equipments of the Indian.

A fondness for gay colors and gaudy ornaments has ever been conspicuous in the whole race. From pocone and other roots, a brilliant red paint or dye was prepared, with which and with other pigments—as charcoal, earths, and extracts from the barks of certain trees—they painted their bodies, in different styles, either to make a terrible impression on their enemies, or simply to bedeck themselves in a becoming manner in the eyes of their friends. The usual savage custom of wearing pendants at the ears was common. The cartilage was frequently stretched and enlarged by weights, and by winding it with brass wire, until it nearly reached the shoulder. Tattooing was practised by some nations, but not so systematically, or to so great an extent as has been observed among the savages of warmer climates, where little clothing is worn.

One of the most noted species of ornament, which answered all the purpose of a circulating medium among the Eastern Indians, was wampum. This consisted of small circular bits of sea-shell, smoothly ground and pol-

ished, with a hole drilled through the centre of each, by which it might be strung, or attached ornamentally to the belt or other parts of the dress. The "qua-hog" or round clam furnished the principal material for this coin, the variegated purple portions of the shell being much the most valuable. The great labor in preparing it, was the boring, which was effected by a sharp flint. When we consider the slow nature of such a process, we can scarce credit the accounts given of the immense quantities of wampum that were procured by the white colonists, while it retained its value, in exchange for European commodities, or which were exacted as tribute, in atonement for national offences.

"The wompompeague," says Gookin, "is made principally by the Block Islanders and Long Island Indians. Upon the sandy flats and shores of those coasts the wilk shells are found. With this wompompeague they pay tribute, redeem captives, satisfy for murders and other wrongs, purchase peace with their potent neighbors, as occasion requires; in a word, it answers all occasions with them, as gold and silver doth with us. They delight much in having and using knives, combs, scissors, hatchets, hoes, guns, needles, awls, looking-glasses and such like necessaries which they purchase of the English and Dutch with their peague, and then sell them their peltry for their wompeague."

The principal articles of food used by the aborigines of the present United States, were the products of the chase, fish, beans, some species of squashes and pumpkins, and maize or Indian Corn. Wild rice, growing in rich wet land in the interior of the country, furnished a wholesome and easily gathered supply of farinaceous food to the tribes of the temperate portion of the United States. Shell fish were a very important addition to the resources of those who dwelt near the sea-coast, and in the interior, various

species of wild roots, and certain nutritious bark supplied the failure of the cultivated crop, and furnished the means to eke out a subsistence when the hunt was unsuccessful or the last year's stores had been consumed before the season of harvest.

To effect a clearing, and to secure a crop with such rude implements of stone as they possessed, appears to us almost an impracticable undertaking; but we are assured, by early writers, that they obtained as large a yield from a given spot of ground as can be produced by the assistance of all modern conveniences and contrivances. Two dishes, greatly in vogue among the Indians, have maintained their popularity among their European successors. Green corn, the ripening of which was celebrated by a national dance, is sought as eagerly as when it supplied a grateful refreshment to the red men, emaciated, as Smith describes them, by the Spring diet of fish and roots. A preparation, denominated "Succotash," consisting of maize, boiled with beans, and flavored with fat bear's meat, or fish, still remains (with the substitution of pork for wild meats) a favorite dish in New England. Carver says that, as prepared by the natives, it was "beyond comparison delicious."

It is singular that the use of milk should have been entirely unknown before the advent of the whites, although there were various animals in the country from which it might have been procured. This fact has been adduced as a strong argument against the hypothesis, that immigrants from the nomadic tribes of Tartary have mingled with the red race in comparatively modern times. If the ferocity or wildness of the buffalo, deer, or elk, had at first seemed to render their domestication impracticable, yet it is not probable that so important an article of subsistence would have been not only disused, but entirely forgotten, until many generations had passed away.

With the foregoing brief sketch of some of the more

marked Indian traits and peculiarities, we will dismiss this portion of our subject; and, dealing no more in generalities, proceed to take up the history of various tribes and nations, somewhat in the order of the dates of their first intercourse with Europeans. We need make no apology for the omission of many minor clans, or for avoiding that particularity, in the delineation of private character, which belongs rather to biography than to general history.

AMERICAN ANTIQUITIES.

CHAPTER I.

UNITED STATES TERRITORY, ETC.

"But what are These, still standing in the midst?
The Earth has rocked beneath; the Thunder-stone
Passed through and through, and left its traces there,
Yet still they stand as by some Unknown Charter!
Oh, they are Nature's own! and, as allied
To the vast Mountains and the eternal Sea,
They want no written history; theirs a voice
For ever speaking to the heart of Man!"—ROGERS.

IN the absence of any written record of those numerous races which formerly peopled this hemisphere, information must be sought in their monuments, and in the disinterred relics of their ancient manner of life. These, considering the almost unbroken wilderness which presented itself to the first white adventurers, are surprisingly numerous. They indicate the former existence of populous nations, excelling in many of the arts of civilization, and capable, by their numbers and combination, of executing the most gigantic works for religion, public defence, and commemoration of the dead. Such relics, though, for the most part, not immediately pertaining to the history of the Indian tribes, have supported the conjectures advanced by Humboldt and other eminent cosmographers, that these races are but the dwindled and degraded remains of once flourishing and populous nations. The retrograde process to which certain forms of incomplete civilization appear doomed, has

perhaps been most strikingly exemplified in the difference to be discovered between the feeble and scattered tribes of the red race, and those powerful and populous communities who occupied the soil before them.

The relics of the former people, usually discovered on or slightly beneath the surface of the ground, are of a rude and simple character, differing little from the specimens common among their descendants of the present day. The flint arrow-head, chipped painfully into shape—the stone tomahawk, knife, and chisel—the pipe, the rude pottery and savage ornaments, are their only relics; and these differ but little from the same articles still fabricated by their successors.

Except among the Esquimaux, who occasionally use stone, and who avail themselves of the arch and dome in the construction of their snow huts, nothing like regular architecture can be assigned to the late or modern tribes occupying this continent northward of Mexico. The Indian tumuli, or mounds of burial, are generally small and of simple construction. It has, however, been rationally supposed that the force of religious custom, surviving art and civilization, has preserved to the red tribes this characteristic method of their forefathers; and that the rude barrows, which they still erect, are but the puny and dwindled descendants of those mighty mounds and terraced pyramids which still rear their heads from the isthmus to the lakes, and from the shores of Florida to the Mexican Cordilleras.

The origin of these and of other unquestionably ancient remains, is to the antiquarian a question of the most lively and perplexing interest. Here, in unknown ages and for unknown periods, have existed wealth, power, and civilization; yet the remains by which these are indicated seem to furnish but a slight clue to the epoch and history of their long-vanished constructors. Within the mounds and

mural embankments scattered through a large portion of this country, are found the remains of high mechanical and scientific art. Pottery, the most fragile of man's works, yet almost indestructible by time, still remains in large quantities and in good preservation. In the composition and coloring of these articles, much chemical skill is evinced; while in many cases, their grace of form and perfection of finish rival the remains of Grecian or Etruscan art. Some of these ancient vessels are of immense size; one, disinterred from a Western mound, being eighteen feet in length by six in breadth. Glass beads of rare and elaborate construction have been found; stone ornaments, skilfully wrought, and brick, much resembling that in modern use, have been often discovered.

Metallic remains are frequent. Copper, used both for weapons and for ornament, has often been found, and occasionally specimens, plated with silver, have been disinterred. At an ancient mound in Marietta, a silver cup finely gilt on the inside, was exposed to view by the washing of a stream. It has been often questioned whether the use of iron was known to these aboriginal races; but except the occasional presence of rust in the excavations, little has been ascertained with certainty—the perishable nature of that metal peculiarly exposing it to the destroying influence of time and dampness.

Inscriptions upon rocks, mostly of a hieroglyphic character, are numerous; and on the walls of several caverns in the west, some extraordinary specimens may be seen. In the same gloomy receptacles have been found numbers of a species of mummy, most carefully prepared, and beautifully covered with colored feathers, symmetrically arranged. Stone coffins and burial urns of great beauty have also been disinhumed from the Western mounds.

MOUNDS AND FORTIFICATIONS.

"* * * * Are they here—
The dead of other days?—And did the dust
Of these fair solitudes once stir with life,
And burn with passion?—Let the mighty mounds
That overlook the rivers, or that rise
In the dim forest, crowded with old oaks,
Answer. A race that long has passed away
Built them; a disciplined and populous race
Heaped, with long toil, the earth, while yet the Greek
Was hewing the Pentelicus to forms
Of symmetry, and rearing on its rock
The glittering Parthenon. These ample fields
Nourished their harvests; here their herds were fed,
When haply by their stalls the bison lowed,
And bowed his maned shoulder to the yoke."

BRYANT.

THE mural remains, in the United States alone, are of almost incredible number, and of most imposing magnitude. It has been asserted by an accurate western antiquarian—"I should not exaggerate if I were to say that more than five thousand might be found, some of them enclosing more than a hundred acres." The mounds and tumuli, he remarks, are far more numerous. Professor Rafinesque ascertained the existence of more than five hundred ancient monuments in Kentucky alone, and fourteen hundred in other states, most of which he had personally examined. These remains appear most numerous in the vicinity of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and near the great lakes and the rivers which flow into them. A striking proof of their immense antiquity is to be found in the fact that the latter stand upon the ancient margin of the lakes, from which, in some immemorial age, their waters are known to have receded.

It is remarkable that these peculiar works of antiquity touch the ocean only in Florida at the southern extremity

of the Atlantic coast; and their greater number and magnitude in the south and west seems to fortify the supposition that their founders came originally from Mexico, and were, perhaps, a people identical with the builders of Cholula and Teotihuacan.

The extent of some of these works is extraordinary. In New York, (where at least a hundred of them have been surveyed) in the county of Onondaga, formerly existed the remains of a fortification enclosing more than five hundred acres. Three circular forts, disposed as a triangle, and situated about eight miles distant from each other, served as its outworks. In many of these fortified places, considerable military skill is evinced; angles, bastions, and curtains, being frequently traceable. "Though much defaced by time," says a traveller, of the entrenchments near lake Pepin, "every angle was distinguishable, and appeared as regular, and fashioned with as much military skill, as if planned by Vauban himself."

Some of the most remarkable of these works have been discovered in Georgia. On the banks of the Little River, near Wrightsborough, are found the remnants of "a stupendous conical pyramid, vast tetragon terraces, and a large sunken or excavated area of a cubical form, encompassed with banks of earth, and also the remains of an extensive town." Other and similar structures occur in the same region. On the Savannah, among other extensive remains, is a conical mound, truncated, fifty feet in height, and eight hundred in circumference at its base. In other portions of the same region are found excavations, and vast quadrangular terraces. Florida abounds in vestiges of a similar nature.

At the west, these remains assume a much more permanent and imposing character. On a branch of the Muskingum river, in Ohio, a series of entrenchments and mounds, two miles in length, and of great solidity of structure, is

found to exist. In Licking county, a most extensive range of fortifications, embracing or protecting an extent of several miles, has been traced.

At Circleville, in the same state, were found two extensive earthen enclosures, one an exact circle, and the other a correct square, corresponding precisely to the cardinal points of the compass; and a mound ninety feet in height. In most of these and other similar ruins, stone was used, though to a limited extent. Parallel walls, communicating with the water, sometimes at a distance of several miles, are features common to many of these structures. Farther west, the extensive use of brick in constructing similar edifices has been ascertained; and an arched sewer, constructed of stone, indicates a knowledge of architecture far superior to that possessed by most semi-civilized nations.

In Missouri, and other regions of the west, the remains of stone buildings have been frequently discovered—in one instance, those of a town, regularly laid out in streets and squares. Upon the Missouri and Arkansas rivers, some of the most extensive fortified works are found. In one of these, on the latter river, are two immense mounds, truncated, each eighty feet high, and one thousand in circumference at the base.

These gigantic mounds are among the most interesting and thickly scattered relics of the vanished races. Many of them are tumuli, or sepulchres of the dead, others were connected with the defensive fortifications, and others, of the grandest and most imposing aspect, were probably huge altars of idolatrous worship.* In general, these ancient mounds may be distinguished from those of the Indians by their greater size, and still more certainly by the nature of their contents. Some of these latter have already been described. Besides utensils of lead, silver, and copper, the

* The usual material employed in their construction is earth, though occasionally they have been built of stone.

oxydized remains of iron have been found. Mica mirrors of various sizes, with a variety of marine shells, are among the deposits.

The practice of burning the dead appears to have been common. Masses of ashes and charcoal are often found mixed with incinerated bones. In Fairfield county, Ohio, a huge earthern-ware caldron, placed upon a furnace, was disinterred. It was eighteen feet long by six broad; and contained the skeletons of twelve persons, besides various articles, which had been buried with them. They were in a large mound, fifteen feet below the surface of the earth.

In the great mound at Circleville, an immense number of skeletons were found, all laid with their heads toward the centre.

In Illinois, nearly opposite St. Louis, within the circuit of a few miles, are more than an hundred and fifty mounds, some of extraordinary size. One of them, formerly occupied by monks of the Order of La Trappe, is ninety feet in height and nearly half a mile in circumference. It is a remarkable circumstance that the soil of which these huge cones are constructed, must occasionally have been brought from a great distance.* The occasional existence of terraces or stages of ascent would seem to indicate a similarity of origin with the pyramidal structures of Mexico.

Indeed, it is difficult to suppose that the authors of these extensive remains could have had other than a south-western origin. All are ancient in the extreme; yet probably they were erected by successive races, and the most venerable antiquity seems attached to the forest-covered mounds of the West.

Mr. Bradford, in his interesting Researches into the Origin of the Red Race, (from which many of the foregoing

* Many others of great size, varying somewhat in form, yet all evincing a striking similarity in construction, might be described.

facts have been drawn,) adopts with safety the following conclusions in regard to the ancient occupants of our soil.

1. "That they were all of the same origin, branches of the same race, and possessed of similar customs and institutions.

2. "That they were populous, and occupied a great extent of territory.

3. "That they had arrived at a considerable degree of civilization, were associated in large communities, and lived in extensive cities.

4. "That they possessed the use of many of the metals, such as lead, copper, gold, and silver, and probably the art of working in them.

5. "That they sculptured, in stone, and sometimes used that material in the construction of their edifices.

6. That they had the knowledge of the arch of receding steps; of the art of pottery,—producing urns and utensils formed with taste, and constructed upon the principles of chemical composition; and of the art of brick-making.

7. "That they worked the salt springs, and manufactured that substance.

8. "That they were an agricultural people, living under the influence and protection of regular forms of government.

9. "That they possessed a decided system of religion, and a mythology connected with astronomy, which, with its sister science, geometry, was in the hands of the priesthood.

10. "That they were skilled in the art of fortification.

11. "That the epoch of their original settlement, in the United States, is of great antiquity; and,

Lastly, "That the only indications of their origin, to be gathered from the locality of their ruined monuments, point toward Mexico."

CHAPTER II.

ANTIQUITIES OF MEXICO, ETC.

"They stand between the mountains and the sea;
Awful memorials, but of whom we know not!
—Time was they stood along the crowded street,
Temples of Gods!"—ROGERS.

THE South-western regions of North America present a most extensive and interesting field for antiquarian research. The long-continued existence of powerful, civilized, and populous races is fully proved by the occurrence of almost innumerable ruins and national relics. Even in the sixteenth century, the Spanish invaders found these regions in the possession of a highly-prosperous and partially-civilized people. Government and social institutions were upon that firm and well-defined basis which betokened long continuance and strong national sentiment. In many of the arts and sciences, the subjugated races were equal, and in others superior, to their Christian conquerors. Their public edifices and internal improvements were on as high a scale, and of as scientific a character, as those of most European nations of the day.

The fanatical zeal of Cortez and his successors destroyed invaluable records of their history and nationality; and many of their most splendid edifices fell before the ravages of war and bigotry; yet numerous structures still exist, though in ruins, attesting the art and industry of their founders. Pyramids, in great numbers, still rear their terraced and truncated surfaces through the land. In the first fury of the conquest, the great Teocalli, or Temple of the city of Mexico, was levelled to the ground, and we can only learn by the description of its destroyers, with what pomp and ceremony the Mexicans celebrated on its

summit the rites of their sanguinary worship. The colossal figures of the sun and moon, covered with plates of gold, the hideous stone of sacrifice, and the terrible sound of the great war-drum, are mingled with strange fascination of description in the pages of the early chroniclers.

In the city of Tezcuco, which is said to have contained an hundred and forty thousand houses, are the remains of a great pyramid, built of large masses of basalt, finely polished and curiously sculptured in hieroglyphics. Other similar edifices in the neighborhood are composed of brick. The enormous structure of Cholula, covering a surface twice larger than the great Egyptian pyramid, but truncated at half its altitude, still, in its ruins, excites the admiration of travellers.

A still more extraordinary effort of semi-civilized industry is to be found in the celebrated Xochicalco, or "House of Flowers," situated on the plain of Cuernavaca, more than a mile above the level of the sea. It appears to be a natural hill, shaped in a pyramidal form by human labor, and divided into four terraces. It is between three and four hundred feet in height, and nearly three miles in circumference.

Eight leagues from the city of Mexico are the two celebrated pyramids of Teotihuacan, sacred, according to tradition, to the deified sun and moon. The larger has a base nearly seven hundred feet in length, and is an hundred and eighty feet in height. They are faced with stone, and covered with a durable cement These pyramidal structures may be estimated by thousands in the South-western provinces of this continent.

The ruins of ancient cities, in the same region, are extremely numerous, and every thing evinces the former existence of a swarming and industrious population. In Tezcuco and its vicinity are the remains of very magnificent buildings and aqueducts. At Mitlan, in the district

of Zapoteca, occur specimens of architecture of the most imposing character. Six porphyry columns, each nineteen feet in height, and of a single stone, decorated the interior of the principal building. Elaborate Mosaic work and illustrative paintings abound, strongly resembling some of the classical antiquities.

The ruins of Palenque, in Chiapa, are among the most extensive and remarkable. Here formerly stood a great city, the remains of which can be traced, it is said, over a space six or seven leagues in circumference. Much elaborate sculpture, exhibiting curious historical reliefs, is discovered in the forsaken apartments of the ancient palaces and temples. These represent human sacrifices, dances, devotion, and other national customs. The richly-carved figure of a cross excites surprise and speculation—the same emblem having been discovered elsewhere, as well as in Northern America.

Many surprising remains, both of erection and excavation, are to be found near Villa Nueva, in the province of Zacatecas. A rocky mountain has been cut into terraces, and extensive ruins of pyramids, causeways, quadrangular enclosures, and massive walls are still standing.

At Copan, in Honduras, among many other remarkable works, are found numerous stone obelisks, of little height, covered with hieroglyphical representations. The relics of a fantastic idolatry are frequent. "Monstrous figures are found amongst the ruins; one represents the colossal head of an alligator, having in its jaws a figure with a human face, but the paws of an animal; another monster has the appearance of a gigantic toad in an erect posture, with human arms and tiger's claws." At the time of the Spanish conquest, Copan was still a large and populous city. It is now utterly deserted.

The extensive ruins of Uxmal or Itzlan, in Yucatan, have been, ever since the memory of man, overgrown with

an ancient forest. At this place is a large court, paved entirely with the figures of tortoises, beautifully carved in relief. This curious pavement consists of more than forty-three thousand of these reptiles, much worn, though cut upon very hard stone. A large pyramid and temple are still standing, containing some elegant statues, and, it is supposed, the representation of the elephant. Great mathematical accuracy and adhesion to the cardinal points distinguish the relics of this city.

Many other extraordinary remains might be cited. The works of the Mexican nation, such as it was found by the Spaniards, were of a massive and enduring character. Extensive walls, designed for a defence against foreign enemies; large public granaries and baths, with admirable roads and aqueducts, evinced a degree of power and enlightenment to which the colored races have seldom attained.

Sculpture and elaborate carving were favorite occupations of the Mexicans, as well as of their forefathers, or the races which preceded them. The famous Stone of Sacrifice, the Calendar of Montezuma, and the hideous idol Teoyamique, all still preserved, attest the grotesqueness and elaborate fancy of their designs. The latter image, as described by a traveller, "is hewn out of one solid block of basalt, nine feet high. Its outlines give an idea of a deformed human figure, uniting all that is terrible in the tiger and rattle-snake. Instead of arms, it is supplied with two large serpents, and its drapery is composed of wreathed snakes, interwoven in the most disgusting manner, and the sides terminating in the wings of a vulture. Its feet are those of a tiger, and between them lies the head of another rattle-snake, which seems descending from the body of the idol. For decorations, it has a large necklace composed of human hearts, hands and skulls, and it has evidently been painted originally in

natural colors." Other figures of the deified rattle-snake have been discovered.

Great skill existed in the art of pottery, and many vessels of exquisite design and finish have been disinterred.

The hieroglyphical paintings and manuscripts of the Mexicans were, with few exceptions, destroyed by their fanatical conquerors. Some choice specimens, however, still exist; principally exhibiting the migrations of the Aztecs, their wars, their religious ceremonies, and the genealogy of their sovereigns. Almanacs and other calendars of an astronomical nature have been preserved. The material of the manuscript consists of the skins of animals, or of a kind of vegetable paper, formed in a manner similar to the Egyptian papyrus.

Of the numerous cities and temples, whose remains are so abundant, many were, doubtless, erected by the Aztec people, whom Cortez found so numerous and flourishing, or by their immediate ancestors. Others were, probably, constructed at a remote age, and by a people who had at an early period migrated to these regions. A certain resemblance, however, appears to pervade them all. The presence of enormous pyramids and quadrangles, the peculiar construction of causeways and aqueducts, and the great similarity in mythological representation, appear to indicate that their founders were originally of a common stock, and all of certain national prepossessions.

CHAPTER III.

ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTH AMERICA.

"* * * We are but where we were,
Still wandering in a City of the Dead!"
ROGERS.

AT the Spanish discovery, South America, like the Northern continent, was, in a great portion, peopled by half-savage tribes, resembling the Indians of our own country. Some powerful and partially-civilized kingdoms, however, yet survived, and of these, the empire of the Peruvian Incas was the first. Under the sway of these powerful sovereigns was comprehended an extensive district, lying along the Pacific coast for many hundreds of miles. Other nations, in their vicinity, of whose history we are ignorant, also possessed a considerable share of power and independent government.

The antiquities of these regions, so similar to those of the Northern continent, appear to prove a similarity of origin in their founders. Very numerous mounds occur, some of them two hundred feet in height, and containing relics of the dead. Urns of fine construction, and human bodies interred in a sitting posture have been excavated. Embalming has evidently been extensively practised, and in many instances the arid nature of the soil, without this precaution, has preserved the bodies of its ancient inhabitants. Caverns appear to have been frequently adopted as cemeteries. In one of these, six hundred skeletons were found, bent double, and regularly arranged in baskets. Stone tombs, of a very massive construction, have also been disinhumed.

In these mounds and graves are found a great variety of ancient implements, of gold, copper, and stone. Exquisite carvings in stone, and jewels evincing great skill in

the lapidary, have been discovered. The idols of gold and copper are often of singular construction, being formed of thin plates of metal hammered into their respective shapes, without a single seam. Stone mirrors and vases of marble, weapons, domestic utensils, cotton cloth of fine texture, and the implements of ancient mining, have also been frequently brought to light.

The system of ancient agriculture and of artificial irrigation appears to have been extremely ingenious, and well adapted to the nature of the soil and climate, reminding us strongly of the Chinese industry in effecting similar objects. The steepest mountains were laid out in terraces, and aqueducts of the most solid and durable construction conveyed water for domestic uses and the fertilization of land. In some instances, the pipes of these aqueducts were of gold—a circumstance which excited the cupidity of the Spaniards, and contributed to their destruction.

The public roads and causeways laid out by this ancient people, may justly compete with the most celebrated works of the same kind in the old world. Their Cyclopean architecture, and the ingenuity with which the greatest natural difficulties have been overcome, excite the admiration of travellers and inquirers. "We were surprised," says Humboldt, "to find at this place (Assuay), and at heights which greatly surpass the top of the Peak of Teneriffe, the magnificent remains of a road constructed by the Incas of Peru. This causeway, lined with freestone, may be compared to the finest Roman roads I have seen, in Italy, France or Spain. It is perfectly straight, and keeps the same direction for six or eight thousand metres. We observed the continuation of this road near Caxamarca, one hundred and twenty leagues to the south of Assuay, and it is believed, in the country, that it led as far as the city of Cuzco." When complete, it extended from Cuzco to Quito, a distance of five hundred leagues.

"One of these great roads passed through the plains near the sea, and the other over the mountains in the interior. Augustin de Carate says that for the construction of the road over the mountains, they were compelled to cut away rocks, and to fill up chasms, often from ninety to one hundred and twenty feet deep, and that when it was first made, it was so plain and level, that a carriage might easily pass over it; and of the other, which pursued a less difficult route, that it was forty feet wide, and as it was carried through valleys, in order to avoid the trouble of rising and descending, it was constructed upon a high embankment of earth."*

The ruins of many edifices, all of massive construction, and all bearing the marks of similarity of origin, are scattered throughout a great expanse of country. In the ancient city of Tiahuanaco, built before the days of the Incas, the architecture appears to have been of the most massive character, reminding us of the Cyclopean structures at Baalbec and Mycenæ. Immense porches and doorways, each formed of a single stone, and supported on masses of similar magnitude, struck the early travellers with astonishment. In Cuzco, the city of the Incas, are many remains of a singular character. The walls are built of stones of great dimensions, and, though of many angles, fitted so accurately that the interstices can scarcely be seen. On a round mountain near Caxamarca, are the extensive ruins of a city, built in terraces, and constructed of such enormous stones, that a single slab often forms the entire side of an apartment. Above these circular terraces, seven in number, appear the remains of a great fortress or palace. Many cities of a similar construction have been discovered. In some instances, pointed or bell-shaped roofs, composed of stones laid in cement, have been remarked.

* Bradford's Origin and History of the Red Race.

Some of the ruins are constructed of unburnt brick, exceedingly hardened by the sun.

Many sculptures, evincing great skill and delicacy, still exist. These are the more remarkable when it is considered that the chief instruments of the ancient inhabitants were, probably, for the most part, composed only of hardened copper. Of this material, their weapons, often of exquisite manufacture, were composed. Far to the northward, beyond the dominion of the Incas, inscriptions and figures may be found sculptured on the rocks. "On the banks of the Orinoco and in various parts of Guiana, there are rude figures traced upon granite and other hard stones, some of them, like those in the United States, cut at an immense height upon the face of perpendicular rocks. They represent the sun and moon, tigers, crocodiles and snakes, and occasionally they appear to be hieroglyphical figures and regular characters."

The surprising number of these ruins and relics, and the great space over which they extend, indicate the existence, for many ages, of a people possessing all the power which regular government, settled institutions, and national character can give. "In examining," says Mr. Bradford, "the line of civilization, as indicated at present by these ancient remains, which is found to commence on the plains of Varinas, and to extend thence to the ruins of the stone edifices, which were observed about the middle of the last century, on the road over the Andes, in the province of Cujo, in Chili, or to the road described by the Jesuit Imonsff, or to the ancient aqueducts upon the banks of the river Maypocho, in south latitude thirty-three degrees, sixteen minutes; we are surprised to discover a continuous, unbroken chain of these relics of aboriginal civilization. Reverting to the epoch of their construction, we are presented with the astonishing spectacle of a great race cultivating the earth, and possessing many of the arts diffused

at an early period through an immense territory, three thousand miles in ex'ent. Even up to the time of the discovery, most of this vast region was occupied by populous tribes, who were dependent upon agriculture for subsistence, were clothed, and in the enjoyment of regular systems of religion, and their own peculiar forms of government. From conquest, and various causes, some sovereignties had increased more rapidly than others; but still, whether we are guided by the testimony of the Spanish invaders, or by the internal evidence yet existent in the ancient ruins, it is impossible not to trace, alike in their manners, customs, and physical appearance, and in the general similitude observable in the character of their monuments, that they were all members of the same family of the human race, and probably of identical origin."

THE ABORIGINES OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS—EXPEDITION OF GRIJALVA—HERNANDO CORTEZ.

"* * * The Race of Yore;
How are they blotted from the things that be!"
SCOTT.

THE kingdoms of New Spain, as Central America and the adjoining country were first called, presented a far different aspect, when first discovered by Europeans, from that of the vast and inhospitable wilderness at the North and East. Instead of an unbroken forest, thinly inhabited by roving savages, here were seen large and well-built cities, a people of gentler mood and more refined manners, and an advancement in the useful arts which removed the inhabitants as far from their rude neighbors, in the scale of civilization, as they themselves were excelled by the nations of Europe.

When first discovered and explored by Europeans, Mexico was a kingdom of great extent and power. Montezuma, chronicled as the eleventh, in regular succession, of the Aztec monarchs, held supreme authority. His dominions extended from near the isthmus of Darien, to the undefined country of the Ottomies and Chichimecas, rude nations living in a barbarous state among the mountains of the North. His name signified "the surly (or grave) Prince," a title justified by the solemn and ceremonious homage which he constantly exacted.



MONTEZUMA.

When the Spaniards first appeared on the coast, the natural terror excited by such unheard-of conquerors was infinitely heightened by divers portents and omens, which the magicians and necromancers of the king construed as warnings of great and disastrous revolutions. This occasioned that strange, weak, and vacillating policy, which, as we shall hereafter see, he adopted towards Cortez. Comets, conflagrations, overflows, monsters, dreams, and visions, were constantly brought to the notice of the royal council, and inferences were drawn therefrom as to the wisest course to be pursued.

The national character, religion and customs of the Mexicans presented stranger anomalies than have ever been witnessed in any nation on the earth. They entertained abstract ideas of right and wrong, with systems of ethics and social proprieties, which, for truth and purity, compare favorably with the most enlightened doctrines of civilized nations, while, at the same time, the custom of human sacrifice was carried to a scarcely credible extent, and accompanied by circumstances of cruelty, filthiness and cannibalism, more loathsome than ever elsewhere disgraced the most barbarous of nations.

A vast amount of labor and research has been expended in efforts to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion as to the causes which led to the Mexican superiority in the arts of civilization over the other inhabitants of the New World. Analogies, so strong as to leave little doubt upon the mind that they must be more than coincidences, were found, on the first discovery of the country, between the traditions, religious exercises, sculpture, and language of the inhabitants of Central America, and those of various nations in the Old World. Notwithstanding this, the great distinctive difference in the bodily conformation of all natives of the Western Continent, from the people of the East, proves sufficiently that, previous to the Spanish discoveries, the

time elapsed since any direct communication could have existed between the two, must have been very great. The obvious antiquity of the architectural remains carries us back to a most remote era: some maintain that portions of these must have been standing for as many centuries as the great pyramids of Egypt, while others refer them to a much later origin. The pernicious habit of first adopting a theory, and then searching for such facts only as tend to support it, was never more forcibly exemplified than in the variant hypotheses as to the origin of Mexican civilization.

The valley and country of Anahuac, or Mexico, was successively peopled, according to tradition and the evidence of ancient hieroglyphics, by the Toltecs, the Chichimecas, and the Nahuatlacas, of which last-mentioned people, the Aztecs, who finally obtained the ascendancy, formed the principal tribe. These immigrations were from some indeterminate region at the north, and appear to have been the result of a gradual progression southward, as traces of the peculiar architectural structures of the Mexican nations are to be found stretching throughout the country between the Rocky Mountains and the sea, as far north as the Gila and Colorado.

The periods of these several arrivals in Anahuac are set down as follows. That of the Toltecs, about the middle of the seventh century, and of the rude Chichimecas, the year 1070. The Nahuatlacas commenced their migrations about 1170, and the Aztecs, separating themselves from the rest of the nation, founded the ancient city of Mexico in the year 1325.

The tale of cruelties, oppressions, and wholesale destruction attendant upon the Spanish invasion and conquest, is a long one, and can be here but briefly epitomized; but enough will be given to leave, as far as practicable, a just impression of the real condition of these primitive nations, and the more marked outlines of their history.



HERNANDO CORTEZ,

FROM AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT BY TITIAN.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, the eastern shore of Mexico and Central America had been explored by Spanish navigators; and Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, led by the ordinary attraction—tales of a country rich in gold and silver—had, in September, 1513, crossed the isthmus to the great and unknown ocean of the West. The condition and character of the natives was but little noticed by these early explorers, and no motives of policy or humanity restrained them from treating those they met as caprice or fanaticism might dictate. Balboa is indeed spoken of as inclined to more humane courses in his intercourse with the natives than many of his contemporaries, but even he showed himself by no means scrupulous in the means by which he forced his way through the country, and levied contributions upon the native chiefs.

The mind of the Spanish nation was at last aroused and inflamed by accounts of the wealth and power of the great country open to adventure in New Spain, and plans were laid to undertake some more notable possession in those regions than had yet resulted from the unsuccessful and petty attempts at colonization upon the coast.

Diego Valasquez, governor of Cuba, as lieutenant to Diego Colon, son and successor of the great admiral, sent an expedition, under command of Juan de Grijalva, to Yucatan and the adjoining coast, in April of the year 1518. After revenging former injuries received from the natives of Yucatan, the party sailed westward, and entered the river of Tobasco, where some intercourse and petty traffic was carried on with the Indians. The natives were filled with wonder at the "Make of the Ships, and difference of the Men and Habits," on their first appearance, and "stood without Motion, as deprived of the use of their Hands by the Astonishment under which their Eyes had brought them."

The usual propositions were made by the Spanish com-

mander, of submission to the great and mighty Prince of the East, whose subject he professed to be; but "they heard his proposition with the marks of a disagreeable attention," and, not unnaturally, made answer that the proposal to form a peace which should entail servitude upon them was strange indeed, adding that it would be well to inquire whether their present king was a ruler whom they loved before proposing a new one.

Still pursuing a westerly course along the coast, Grijalva gained the first intelligence received by the Spaniards of the Emperor Montezuma. At a small island were found the first bloody tokens of the barbarous religious rites of the natives. In a "House of Lime and Stone" were "several Idols of a horrible Figure, and a more horrible worship paid to them; for, near the Steps where they were placed, were the carkasses of six or seven men, newly sacrificed, cut to pieces, and their Entrails laid open."

Reaching a low sandy isle, still farther to the westward, on the day of St. John the Baptist, the Spaniards named the place San Juan, and from their coupling with this title a word caught from an Indian seen there, resulted the name of San Juan de Ulloa, bestowed upon the site of the present great fortress. No settlement was attempted, and Grijalva returned to Cuba, carrying with him many samples of native ingenuity, and of the wealth of the country, in the shape of rude figures of lizards, birds, and other trifles, wrought in gold imperfectly refined.

The Cuban governor, Velasquez, determined to pursue discoveries and conquest at the west, and appointed Hernando Cortez, a Spanish cavalier, resident upon the island, to command the new expedition. That the reader may judge what strange contradictions may exist in the character of the same individual; how generosity and cupidity; mildness and ferocity; cruelty and kindness, may be

combined, let him compare the after conduct of this celebrated hero with his character as sketched by the historian.

"Cortez was well made, and of an agreeable countenance; and, besides those common natural Endowments, he was of a temper which rendered him very amiable; for he always spoke well of the absent, and was pleasant and discreet in his Conversation. His Generosity was such that his Friends partook of all he had, without being suffer'd by him to publish their Obligations."

In the words of the poet, he

> "* * * Was one in whom
> Adventure, and endurance, and emprise
> Exalted the mind's faculties, and strung
> The body's sinews. Brave he was in fight,
> Courteous in banquet, scornful of repose,
> And bountiful, and cruel, and devout."

Hidalgos of family and wealth crowded eagerly to join the fortunes of the bold and popular leader. "Nothing was to be seen or spoken of," says Bernal Diaz, "but selling lands to purchase arms and horses, quilting coats of mail, making bread, and salting pork for sea store."

From St. Jago the fleet sailed to Trinidad on the southern coast, where the force was increased by a considerable number of men, and thence round Cape Antonio to Havana. From the latter port the flotilla got under weigh on the 10th of February, 1519. It consisted of a brigantine and ten other small vessels, whose motley crews are thus enumerated: "five hundred and eight Soldiers, sixteen Horse; and of Mechanics, Pilots, and Marriners, an hundred and nine more, besides two Chaplains, the Licentiate Juan Diaz, and Father Bartholomew De Olmedo, a Regular of the Order of our Lady de la Merced." The missile weapons of the party were muskets, cross-bows, falconets, and ten small field pieces of brass. The color,

quality, and condition of each of the horses is described with great particularity.

The first land made was the island of Cozumel, off the coast of Yucatan. One of the vessels reached the island two days before the rest; and finding the habitations of the natives abandoned, the Spaniards ranged the country, and plundered their huts and temple, carrying off divers small gold images, together with clothes and provisions.

Cortez, on his arrival, strongly reprehended these proceedings, and, liberating three Indians who had been taken prisoners, sent them to seek out their friends, and explain to them his friendly intentions. Their confidence was perfectly restored by this act, and by the restoration of the stolen property; so that the next day, the chief came with his people to the camp, and mingled with the Spaniards on the most friendly terms.

No farther violence was offered to them or their property during the stay of the Spaniards, except that these zealous reformers seized the idols in the temple, and rolling them down the steps, built an altar, and placed an image of the Virgin upon it, erecting a wooden crucifix hard by. The holy father, Juan Diaz, then said Mass, to the great edification of the wondering natives.

This temple was a well-built edifice of stone, and contained a hideous idol in somewhat of the human form. "All the Idols," says de Solis, "worshipped by these miserable People, were formed in the same Manner; for tho' they differed in the Make and Representation, they were all alike most abominably ugly; whether it was that these Barbarians had no Notion of any other Model, or that the Devil really appeared to them in some such Shape; so that he who struck out the most hideous figure, was accounted the best work man."

Seeing that no prodigy succeeded the destruction of their gods, the savages were the more ready to pay atter tion

to the teachings which were so earnestly impressed upon them by the strangers, and appeared to hold the symbols of their worship in some veneration, offering incense before them, as erstwhile to the idols.

Cortez heard one of the Indians make many attempts to pronounce the word Castilla and, his attention being attracted by the circumstance, he pursued his inquiries until he ascertained that two Spaniards were living among the Indians on the main.

He immediately used great diligence to ransom and restore them to liberty, and succeeded in the case of one of them, named Jeronimo de Aguilar, who occupies an important place in the subsequent details of adventure. The other, one Alonzo Guerrero, having married a wife among the Indians, preferred to remain in his present condition. He said to his companion: "Brother Aguilar, I am married, and have three sons, and am a Cacique and captain in the wars; go you in God's name; my face is marked, and my ears bored; what would those Spaniards think of me if I went among them?"

De Solis says of this man that his natural affection was but a pretence "why he would not abandon those deplorable Conveniences, which, with him weighed more than Honour or Religion. We do not find that any other Spaniard, in the whole Course of these Conquests, committed the like Crime; nor was the name of this Wretch worthy to be remembered in this History: But, being found in the writings of others, it could not be concealed; and his Example serves to show us the Weakness of Nature, and into what an Abyss of Misery a man may fall, when God has abandon'd him."

Poor Aguilar had been eight years a captive: tatooed, nearly naked, and browned by sun, he was scarce distinguishable from his Indian companions, and the only Castilian words which he was at first able to recall were "Dios,

Santa Maria," and "Sevilla." Still mindful of his old associations and religion, he bore at his shoulder the tattered fragments of a prayer-book.

He belonged to a ship's crew who had been wrecked on the coast, and was the only survivor of the number, except Guerrero. The rest had died from disease and overwork, or had been sacrificed to the idols of the country. Aguilar had been "reserved for a future occasion by reason of his Leanness," and succeeded in escaping to another tribe and another master.

Cortez sailed with his fleet, from Cozumel, for the river Tabasco, which was reached on the 13th of March, 1519. Urging their way against the current, in the boats and smaller craft—for the principal vessels were left at anchor near the mouth—the whole armament entered the stream. As they advanced, the Spaniards perceived great bodies of Indians, in canoes, and on both banks, whose outcries were interpreted by Aguilar to be expressions of hostility and defiance. Night came on before any attack was made on either side. Next morning, the armament recommenced its progress, in the form of a crescent: the men, protected as well as possible by their shields and quilted mail, were ordered to keep silence, and offer no violence until ordered. Aguilar, who understood the language of these Indians, was commissioned to explain the friendly purposes of his companions, and to warn the natives of the consequences that would result from their opposition. The Indians, with signs of great fury and violence, refused to listen to him, or to grant permission to the Spaniards to supply themselves with wood and water.

The engagement commenced by a shower of arrows from the canoes on the river, and an immense multitude opposed the landing of the troops. Numbers and bravery could not, however, avail against the European skill and implements of warfare. Those in the canoes were easily

driven off, and, notwithstanding the difficulties of a wet and marshy shore, where thousands of the enemy lay concealed to spring upon them unawares, the Spanish forces made their way to the town of Tabasco, driving the Indians into the fortress, or dispersing them in the forest. Tabasco was protected in the ordinary Indian style, by strong palisades of trees, a narrow and crooked entrance being left.

Cortez immediately attacked the town, and, by firing through the palisades, his troops soon drove in the bowmen who were defending them, and after a time, got complete possession.

The town was obstinately defended, even after the Spaniards had effected an entrance. The enemy retreated behind a second barricade, "fronting" the troops, "valiantly whistling and shouting 'al calachioni,' or 'kill the captain.'" They were finally overpowered, and fled to the woods.

CHAPTER II.

GREAT BATTLES WITH THE NATIVES—CONCILIATORY INTERCOURSE—DONNA MARINA.

HITHERTO a blind superstition, by which supernatural powers were ascribed to the whites, had quelled the vigor and spirit of the Indians, but an interpreter named Melchorejo, whom Cortez had brought over from Cuba, deserted from the Spaniards during the first night spent in Tabasco, and urged the natives to another engagement. He explained the real nature of the mysterious weapons whose flash and thunder had created such terror, and disabused the simple savages of the ideas entertained by them of the invulnerable nature of their foes. They proved in

the subsequent battles much more dangerous opponents than before. The narrator mentions, with no little satisfaction, the fate of this deserter. His new allies, it seems, "being vanquished a second time, revenged themselves on the adviser of the war, by making him a miserable sacrifice to their idols."

All was as still, upon the succeeding day, as if the country was abandoned by its inhabitants, but a party of one hundred men, on a scout, was suddenly surrounded and attacked by such hordes of the enemy, that they might have been cut off from sheer fatigue, but for another company which came to their assistance. As the Spaniards endeavored to retreat to the camp, the Indians would rush upon them in full force, "who, immediately upon their facing about, got out of their reach, retiring with the same swiftness that they were attacked; the motions of this great multitude of barbarians from one side to another, resembling the rolling of the sea, whose waves are driven back by the wind."

Two of the Spaniards were killed and eleven wounded in the fray: of the Indians, eighteen were seen lying dead on the field, and several prisoners were taken. From these Cortez learned that tribes from all sides were gathered to assist those of Tabasco in a general engagement planned for the next day, and he accordingly made the most diligent preparation to receive them. The horses were brought on shore, and care was taken to restore their animation, subdued by confinement on board ship.

As soon as day broke, Mass was said, and the little army was put in motion to advance upon the enemy. They were discovered marshalled on the vast plain of Cintia, in such numbers that it was impossible to compute them. They extended so far, says Solis, "that the sight could not reach to see the end of them." The Indian warriors were painted and plumed, their arms were bows and arrows,

slings, darts, clubs armed with sharp flints, and heavy wooden swords. The bodies of the leaders were protected by quilted coats of cotton, and they bore shields of tortoise-shell or wood, mounted, in some instances, with gold.

To the sound of rude drums, and the blast of sea-shells and large flutes, the vast crowd fell furiously upon the Spaniards, and although checked by their more efficient weapons, only retired to a convenient distance for hurling stones and discharging arrows. The field-pieces mowed them down by hundreds, but concealing the havoc by raising clouds of dust, and closing up their ranks with shouts of "ala—lala" (the precise sound of the Turkish war-cry, viz: a constant repetition of the word *Allah*) they held their ground with the most determined courage.

The little handful of cavalry, which, led by Cortez in person, had made a detour to avoid a marsh, now fell upon the Indians from a new quarter, and, riding through and through the crowded mass of savages, so bewildered and amazed them, that they fled in dismay. No such animal as the horse had ever before been seen by them: they took the monsters, says Diaz, for centaurs, supposing the horse and his rider to be one.

On the field of battle, as the conquerors passed over it, lay more than eight hundred dead or desperately wounded. But two of the Spaniards were killed, although seventy of their number were wounded at the first rush of the barbarians.

The victors having rendered thanks "to God and to our Lady, his blessed Mother," for their success, dressed their wounds, and those of the invaluable horses, with the fat of dead Indians, and retired to refresh themselves by food and sleep.

Lopez de Gomara affirms that one of the holy apostles, under the form of Francisco de Morla, appeared upon the field during this bloody engagement, and turned the scale

of victory. Diaz says: "It might be the case, and I, sinner as I am, was not permitted to see it. What I did see was Francisco de Morla, in company with Cortez and the rest, upon a chesnut horse—But although I, unworthy sinner that I am, was unfit to behold either of those holy apostles, upwards of four hundred of us were present; let their testimony be taken." He adds, that he never heard of the incident until he read of it in Gomara's history.

Several prisoners were taken in this battle, among them two who appeared to be of superior rank. These were dismissed with presents and favors, to carry proposals of peace to their friends. The result was highly satisfactory: fifteen slaves, with blackened faces and ragged attire "in token of contrition," came bringing offerings. Permission was given to bury and burn the bodies of those who fell in the terrible slaughter, that they might not be devoured by wild beasts ("Lyons and Tygers" according to Diaz). This duty accomplished, ten of the caciques and principal men made their appearance, clad in robes of state, and expressed desire for peace, excusing their hostility, as the result of bad advice from their neighbors and the persuasion of the renegade whom they had sacrificed. Cortez took pains to impress them with ideas of his power and the greatness of the monarch he served; he ordered the artillery to be discharged, and one of the most spirited of the horses to be brought into the reception-room: "it being so contrived that he should show himself to the greatest advantage, his apparent fierceness, and his action, struck the natives with awe."

Many more chiefs came in on the following day, bringing the usual presents of little gold figures, the material of which came, they said, from "Culchua," and from "Mexico," words not yet familiar to the ears of the Spaniards.

Twenty women were, moreover, offered as presents, and gladly received by Cortez, who bestowed one upon each

of his officers. They were all duly baptized, and had the pleasure of listening to a discourse upon the mysteries of his faith, delivered for their especial benefit by Father Bartholomew, the spiritual guide of the invaders. Knowing nothing of the language, and having no competent interpreter, it probably made no very vivid impression, but these captives were set down as the first Christian women of the country.

Among them was one young woman of remarkable beauty and intelligence, whom the Spaniards christened Marina. She was said to be of royal parentage, but, from parental cruelty, or the fortunes of war, had been held in slavery at a settlement on the borders of Yucatan, where a Mexican fort was established, and afterwards fell into the hands of the Tabascan cacique. She spoke both the Mexican language, and that common to Yucatan and Tabasco, so that Cortez was able, by means of her and Aguilar, to communicate with the inhabitants of the interior, through a double interpretation, until Marina had mastered the Spanish tongue. She accompanied Cortez throughout his eventful career in Mexico, and had a son by him, who was made, says Solis, "a Knight of St. Jago, in consideration of the Nobility of his Mother's birth." Before this connection she had been bestowed by the commander upon one Alonzo Puerto Carrero, until his departure for Castile.

CHAPTER III.

COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE MEXICAN EMPEROR—THE ZEMPOALLANS AND QUIAVISTLANS.

"Thou too dost purge from earth its horrible
And old idolatries;—from their proud fanes
Each to his grave their priests go out, till none
Is left to teach their worship!"

BRYANT'S *Hymn to Death.*

BEFORE his departure from Tabasco, Cortez and his priest made strenuous efforts to explain the principles of his religion to the chiefs and their people. This, indeed, seems really to have been a purpose uppermost in his heart throughout the whole of his bloody campaign; but, as may well be supposed, the subject was too abstract, too novel, and too little capable of proofs which appeal to the senses and inclinations, to meet with much favor. "They only complied," says Solis, "as men that were subdued, being more inclined to receive another God than to part with any of their own. They hearkened with pleasure, and seemed desirous to comprehend what they heard: but reason was no sooner admitted by the will than it was rejected by the understanding." They acknowledged that "this must, indeed, be a great God, to whom such valiant men show so much respect."

From the river Tabasco the fleet sailed direct for San Juan de Ulua, where they were no sooner moored than two large piraguas with a number of Indians on board came boldly alongside. By the interpretation of Marina, Cortez learned that these came in behalf of Pitalpitoque and Tendile, Governor and Captain of the district, under Montezuma, to inquire as to his purposes, and to make offers of friendship and assistance. The messengers were

handsomely entertained, and dismissed with a few presents, trifling in themselves, but of inestimable value in their unskilful eyes.

As the troops landed, Tendile sent great numbers of his men to assist in erecting huts for their accommodation; a service which was rendered with remarkable dexterity and rapidity.

On the morning of Easter-day, the two great officers came to the camp with a lordly company of attendants. Not to be outdone in parade, Cortez marshalled his soldiers, and having conducted the chiefs to the rude chapel, Mass was said with due ceremony. He then feasted them, and opened negotiations by telling of his great sovereign, Don Carlos, of Austria, (Charles the Fifth,) and expressing a desire to hold communion in his behalf with the mighty Emperor Montezuma.

This proposition met with little favor. Tendile urged him to accept the presents of plumed cotton mantles, gold, &c., which they had brought to offer him, and depart in peace. Diaz says that the Indian commander expressed haughty astonishment at the Spaniard's presumption. Cortez told them that he was fully resolved not to leave the country without obtaining an audience from the emperor; but, to quiet the apprehension and disturbance of the Indians, he agreed to wait until a message could be sent to the court and an answer returned, before commencing further operations.

Painters, whose skill Diaz enlarges upon, now set to work to depict upon rolls of cloth, the portraits of Cortez and his officers, the aspect of the army, the arms, and other furniture, the smoke poured forth from the cannon, and, above all, the horses, whose "obedient fierceness" struck them with astonishment. These representations were for the benefit of Montezuma, that he might learn more clearly than he could by verbal report, the nature

of his novel visitants. By the messengers, Cortez sent, as a royal present, a crimson velvet cap, with a gold medal upon it, some ornaments of cut glass, and a chair of tapestry.

Pitalpitoque now settled himself, with a great company of his people, in a temporary collection of huts, built in the immediate vicinity of the Spanish camp, while Tendile attended to the delivery of the message to his monarch. Diaz says that he went to the royal court, at the city of Mexico, in person, being renowned for his swiftness of foot; but the more probable account is that he availed himself of a regular system of couriers, established over the more important routes throughout the empire. However this may be, an answer was returned in seven days' time, the distance between Mexico and San Juan being sixty leagues, by the shortest road.

With the messenger returned a great officer of the court, named Quintalbor, who bore a most striking resemblance to Cortez, and one hundred other Indians, loaded with gifts for the Spaniards. Escorted by Tendile, the embassy arrived at the camp, and, after performing the usual ceremony of solemn salutations, by burning incense, &c., the Mexican lords caused mats to be spread, and displayed the gorgeous presents they had brought.

These consisted of beautifully woven cotton cloths; ornamental work in feathers, so skilfully executed that the figures represented had all the effect of a painting; a quantity of gold in its rough state; images wrought or cast in gold of various animals; and, above all, two huge plates, one of gold, the other of silver, fancifully chased and embossed to represent the sun and moon. Diaz says that the golden sun was of the size of a carriage wheel, and that the silver plate was still larger.

Proffering these rich tokens of good will, together with numerous minor articles, the chiefs delivered their mon

arch's mission. Accompanied by every expression of good will, his refusal was declared to allow the strangers to visit his court. Bad roads and hostile tribes were alleged to constitute insuperable difficulties, but it was hinted that more important, though unexplainable reasons existed why the interview could not take place.

Cortez, courteously, but firmly, persisted in his determination, and dismissed the ambassadors with renewed gifts; expressing himself content to await yet another message from Montezuma. He said that he could not, without dishonoring the king his master, return before having personal communication with the emperor.

He, meantime, sent a detachment further up the coast, with two vessels, to seek for a more convenient and healthy place of encampment than the burning plain of sand where the army was now quartered.

Montezuma persisted in objections to the advance of the Spaniards, and Cortez being equally immovable in his determination to proceed, the friendly intercourse hitherto maintained between the natives and their guests now ceased. Tendile took his leave with some ominous threats, and Pitalpitoque with his people departed from their temporary domiciles.

The soldiers, cut off from their former supplies of provision, and seeing nothing but danger and privation in store for them, began to rebel, and to talk of returning home. Cortez checked this movement by precisely the same policy that was resorted to by Agamemnon and Ulysses, under somewhat similar circumstances, as will be found at large in the second book of the *Iliad*, line 110 *et seq.*

He seemed to assent to the arguments of the spokesman of the malcontents, and proceeded to proclaim his purpose of making sail for Cuba, but, in the meantime, engaged the most trusty of his friends to excite a contrary feeling among the troops. The effort was signally successful: the

commander graciously consented to remain, and lead them to further conquests, expressing his great satisfaction in finding them of such bold and determined spirit.

About this time, Bernal Diaz and another sentinel being stationed on the beach, at some distance from the camp, perceived five Indians of a different appearance from any hitherto seen, approaching them upon the level sands. Diaz conducted them to the general, who learned, by Marina's interpretation, that they came in behalf of the cacique of Zempoala, or Cempoal, to proffer the services of their king and his people. This tribe held the Mexicans in great fear and detestation, and rejoiced in the opportunity now presented for attempting some retaliation for former oppressions and injuries.

The exploring expedition had discovered a desirable location, at the town of Quiavistlan, a few leagues north of the encampment, and Cortez concluded to move thither immediately. Before taking further steps, he established himself more firmly in command by resigning his commission under Valasquez, and taking the vote of his followers as to whether he should be their captain. This being settled to his satisfaction, he marched for Quiavistlan, passing the river at the spot where Vera Cruz was afterwards built.

Zempoalla lay in his route, and there the army was met by a deputation from the cacique, he being too corpulent to come in person. Sweet-smelling flowers were offered as tokens of friendship to the Spanish officers. The town was well built, and ornamented with shade-trees. The inhabitants collected in innumerable but orderly crowds to witness the entrance of the cavalcade. The "fat cacique" entertained his guests handsomely, making grievous complaints of the oppressions and exactions suffered by him and his tribes at the hands of Montezuma's officers. He had been subdued by the great emperor, and was now his unwilling tributary.

Quiavistlan was situated upon a rocky eminence, up which the army advanced, prepared to crush any opposition on the part of the inhabitants. These, however, had mostly fled from their homes on the approach of the Spaniards. In the principal square, Cortez was met, and saluted with the usual fumigations of incense, by fifteen of the chief men of the town. They excused the timidity of their people, and promised that they should immediately return, as no injuries were intended by the strangers.

They came accordingly; the chiefs, together with the corpulent cacique of Zempoalla, being borne upon litters. All united in lamentations over the cruel state of degradation and servitude to which they were subjected by the tyrant Montezuma. He plundered them of their treasures, seized and carried away their wives and daughters, and sacrificed no small number of them to his gods.

While they were yet consulting and beseeching assistance from the Spaniards, the whole conclave was stricken with terror by the intelligence of the arrival of five royal emissaries or tax-gatherers. These stately personages, to whom the Quiavistlans hastened to minister with cringing servility, did not even condescend to bestow a look upon the Spanish officers. "They were dressed," says Diaz, "in mantles elegantly wrought, and drawers of the same, their hair shining, and, as it were, tied at the top of the head, and each of them had in his hand a bunch of roses, which he occasionally smelt to. They were attended by servants, who fanned them, and each of whom carried a cord and a hooked stick."

Calling the caciques before them, these dignitaries rebuked them for entertaining foreigners, who disregarded the expressed will of the emperor, and, as a punishment for the contempt, demanded twenty victims for sacrifice. Cortez, being informed of this, advised the seizure and imprisonment of these emissaries until report of their cru-

elties and insolence could be made to their master. Th caciques, accustomed to submission, were at first horror stricken at the proposal, but Cortez persisting boldly and confidently in his opinion, they went to the other extreme. The five magnates were placed, says Solis, "in a kind of Pillories, used in their Prisons, and very incommodious; for they held the delinquents by the neck, obliging them continually to do the utmost with their shoulders to ease the weight, for the freedom of breathing." "One of them, also, being refractory, was beaten soundly."

The exultant Quiavistlans would have gone still farther, and made a speedy end of their prisoners, had not Cortez interfered. Not willing to give immediate offence to Montezuma, but desirous of being in condition at any moment to pick a quarrel, or to claim the rewards and consideration due to meritorious services, he contrived to effect the escape of two of these lords, charging them to give him all credit for the act at their master's court. To preserve the other three from destruction, he took them on board one of his vessels, (the fleet having come round by sea) under pretence of safe keeping. He, none the less, proclaimed to the caciques, his allies, that they should thereafter be free from all oppressions and exactions on the part of the Mexican authorities.

The army was now set to work at the foundation of a permanent fortification and town. By the willing assistance of the natives, the walls of Vera Cruz rose rapidly. To excite a spirit of industry and emulation, Cortez commenced the work of digging and carrying materials with his own hands. Thirty caciques, from the mountainous districts of the Totonaques, led by reports of Spanish valor and virtues, came in to offer their services and alliance. Their followers are numbered by Herrera (an author who speaks too confidently of particulars) at one hundred thousand men; wild mountaineers, but bold and efficient.

While all hands were at work upon the new town, messengers once again appeared from Montezuma. His anger, greatly excited by the first reports of the seizure of his officers, had been mitigated by the favorable report of those who had been allowed to escape; and he now sent two of his own nephews, accompanied by four old lords, and a splendid retinue. Acknowledgments were made by the embassy for the service rendered by Cortez in setting the two tax-gatherers at liberty; but he was, at the same time, vehemently requested to leave the country, and not hinder, by the respect due to his presence, the just punishment of the rebels with whom he was cohabiting. He was adjured not to dream of making further progress towards the royal court, "for that the impediments and dangers of that journey were very great. On which point they enlarged with a mysterious tediousness; this being the principal point of their instructions."

Cortez replied that danger and difficulties would but give zest to the adventure, for that Spaniards knew no fear, and only sought for glory and renown. He entertained the ministers handsomely, and dismissed them with presents.

The Zempoalans thought that the friendship cemented between them and the foreigners could not be taken advantage of better than by engaging them to subdue a neighboring tribe, whose chief town was called Cingapacinga. They therefore induced Cortez, by pretending that a troublesome Mexican garrison was quartered there, to assist them in conquering the country. With four hundred Spaniards, and a great company of Zempoalans, the Spanish leader entered the mountain district where the enemy was to be sought. As the army approached the town, eight old priests, in black and hooded robes, like friars, came out to deprecate his anger. These functionaries presented, as usual, the most disgusting and horrible

appearance. Their long hair was tangled and clotted with human blood, which it was a part of their rules should never be washed off, and their persons were filthy, loathsome, and offensive beyond conception.

Cortez discovered that he had been deceived, as no Mexicans were in the vicinity, but he put a good face on the matter, and succeeded in making a peaceable arrangement between the rival tribes.

Returning to Zempoala, renewed evidence was brought before the eyes of this zealous Catholic, of the extent to which the custom of human sacrifice was carried; and especially of the sale and consumption of the bodies of the victims as a "sacred food." He therefore concluded to prostrate the idols, and set up the insignia of the true religion. Long and earnest harangues failed to induce the natives to perform this service themselves: they would be cut to pieces, they said, ere they would be guilty of such sacrilege. The soldiers then broke up and destroyed the images, purged the temples, and, covering the bloody marks of pagan worship with lime and plaster, erected an altar, and celebrated the rites of Catholicism. As no prodigy or signal vengeance from Heaven followed the audacious act, the pliable natives seemed readily to fall in with the proposed change, and, burning the fragments of their idols, they aped the posture and formula of the devout Spaniards. An old and partially disabled soldier, named Torres, agreed to remain as keeper of the newly-consecrated temple, on the departure of the troops.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARCH TO TLASCALA—OCCUPATION OF THE CITY—GREAT MASSACRE AT CHOLULA—ENTRANCE INTO THE CITY OF MEXICO, AND INTERVIEW WITH MONTEZUMA—DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE, ETC.

"What divine monsters, Oh ye gods, are these,
That float in air, and fly upon the seas!
Came they alive or dead upon the shore?"
DRYDEN.

THE bold and adventurous leader of the Spaniards now began to set in earnest about his work of conquest. He dispatched one ship direct for Spain, to obtain a confirmation from the sovereign of his authority in New Spain; and, with the consent of most of his companions, dismantled and sunk the rest of the fleet, that all might be nerved to the most desperate efforts by the alternative presented them of death or complete success.

Leaving a garrison at the coast settlement, he commenced his march into the interior, accompanied by a body of Zempoalans. The Indians of Jalapa, Socochima, and Texucla, offered them no molestation, and, after enduring great hardships in the passage of the rugged mountains, the army reached Zocothlan.

Near the religious temples of this town, Diaz affirms, with repeated asseverations, that he saw human skeletons, so orderly arranged, that their numbers could be computed with certainty, and that they could not have amounted to less than one hundred thousand. Beside these were huge piles of skulls and bones: other remnants of mortality were hung from beams. Three priests had charge of these relics.

Contrary to the advice of the cacique of this province,

Cortez determined to pass through the country of Tlascala, whose inhabitants were inimical to Montezuma.

Four Zempoalan Indians, decked out in the style deemed suitable for ambassadors, and bearing arrows, feathered with white, and carried point downwards, in token of a peaceful mission, were sent to wait on the Tlascalan authorities. They were received with respect by the senate or chief council, whose members were ranged in order, in a great hall, seated upon low chairs, each made from a single block of some remarkable wood.

Great debate ensued as to whether the strangers should be permitted to pass through the country. On the one hand, ancient prophecies were cited of an invincible race that should come from the East. The remarkable fulfilment in the landing of these white men, of many attendant circumstances foretold, touching the ships, arms, and valor of the invaders, was enlarged upon, and it was pronounced madness to cope with them. On the other hand, it was suggested that the Spaniards might be nothing better than "monsters flung up by the sea upon the coasts," and, if not, that their sacrilege and cruelties forbade the idea that they could be other than evil and avaricious barbarians, who should be crushed as noxious reptiles.

It was concluded to try the strength of the whites, and, if they could not be resisted, the assault should be attributed to the intractibility of the Ottomies, a nation of rude and warlike mountaineers.

The result might readily be foreseen: no force, however overwhelming in numbers, could resist the fire-arms, the discipline, and more especially the horses of the Spaniards. These animals "(supernatural or monstrous in their imagination)" so terrified the Indians, that they trod one another under foot in efforts to escape from the rush of the little corps of cavalry. In several engagements, although under advantageous circumstances, as in ambus-

cades and night attacks, the Tlascalans were routed, and vast numbers of their warriors were slaughtered. Cortez, to strike further terror, cut off the hands or thumbs of fourteen or fifteen captives, and sent them to their own people to report what manner of men he and his followers were.

Montezuma, hearing of these successes, sent more messengers to endeavor to persuade Cortez not to make further advance, and at the same time to obstruct the conclusion of a peace between him and the Tlascalans. These efforts failed signally: Xicotencal, the general of the opposing forces, in behalf of the town and nation, made an amicable settlement of difficulties with the Spaniards.

With great pomp and ceremony, Cortez marched his army into the town of Tlascala, on the 23d of September, (1519). The situation of the place was rugged and mountainous, giving the streets great irregularity; but the buildings were substantial, and the fortifications massive. Here the army tarried twenty days, and then marched for Cholula, a great city, entirely subject to the emperor. Before they set out, Montezuma had again sent heralds to announce his final consent to a meeting, and that quarters for the Spanish troops should be made ready at Cholula.

Several thousand Tlascalans, armed and equipped, voluntarily offered their services, and the whole army reached Cholula without molestation. Here the magnates of the town met them, objecting to the entrance of the Indian allies, as they had been enemies of the nation; and it was agreed that the Spaniards and Zempoalans alone should be quartered in the city, while the rest should encamp in the suburbs. Here were seen evidences of greater wealth, and higher attainments in architectural skill, than at any place before visited. The caciques appeared friendly, and furnished provisions for the troops for several days; but finally discontinued both their visits and supplies. This

aroused the suspicions of Cortez, and he determined to maintain the utmost vigilance.

At this juncture an old woman of rank came to Marina, for whom she had contracted great friendship, and begged her to forsake the Spaniards, and come to live with her and her friends. Marina, ever on the watch to serve her lord and master, pretended compliance, and, by judicious questions, elicited from the old woman all the particulars of a formidable plot for the destruction of the Spaniards. Montezuma had sent twenty thousand men into the vicinity, part of whom were already secretly brought within the walls; pit-falls with sharp stakes at the bottom had been prepared in the principal highways for the destruction of the horses; and stones were piled on the roofs of the houses to hurl down upon the devoted army. Diaz says: "The recompense which they intended for our holy and friendly services was to kill us and eat us, for which purpose the pots were already boiling, and prepared with salt, pepper and tomatas." Seven human victims had been sacrificed to propitiate the favor of the gods, and it was purposed to devote twenty of the Spaniards to the same fate, as soon as they could be secured.

All these things were confirmed by a searching examination of some of the caciques, who, surprised at the supernatural penetration of the Spaniards, confessed the whole, but attributed it entirely to Montezuma. With his usual duplicity, Cortez spoke of this conspiracy in confidence to the ambassadors from the court, pretending that he had no suspicion of the part Montezuma had taken. He then gave public orders for marching on the ensuing day, in order to precipitate the hostile movement, but, at the same time, had all his plans arranged for battle, and intelligence conveyed to his Tlascalan troops to be ready to assist him at the dawning of day.

With the first light all was in motion; the Cholulans

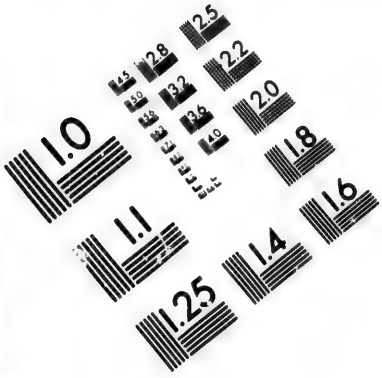
appointed to carry the baggage, and those who came armed on pretence of acting as a guard, but, in reality, to fall upon the rear of the army, poured into the great square. At a given signal from Cortez, a horrible massacre was commenced, which continued for two days. The Tlascalans of the party, reinforced by multitudes from their own town, who came at the first news of the attack, ravaged and plundered the city with unrestrained barbarity. Cortez at last checked these outrages, and compelling such of the plunder and prisoners as he could discover to be delivered up, proclaimed peace and general amnesty. He set free the unfortunate prisoners, who were confined in cages to be fattened for sacrifice, and vainly endeavored to convince the priests and people of the enormity of their religious rites and the truth of his own doctrines.

Cholula was one of the most noted cities of Mexico, both for its beauty of situation and structure, and its position as the head-quarters of the religion of the country. The immense hill or temple of sacrifice has ever been the subject of admiration and astonishment to all beholders.

Montezuma dared no longer openly oppose the advance of the Spaniards. The terror of their arms and the gloomy prognostications of the priests cowed and subdued his spirit, and he sent messengers with gifts and invitations to Cortez to visit his court. The general impression constantly gained ground among the Mexicans that these white men must be "Teules," or supernatural beings, against whom it were hopeless openly to contend.

Fourteen days after the arrival at Cholula, the army was again put in motion. The Zempoalans were dismissed at their own request, and their places were supplied by Tlascalans, who were ready by thousands to share the danger and profit of the expedition. On the march over the rough mountainous district through which lay their path, strong bodies of Mexicans had been placed in am-





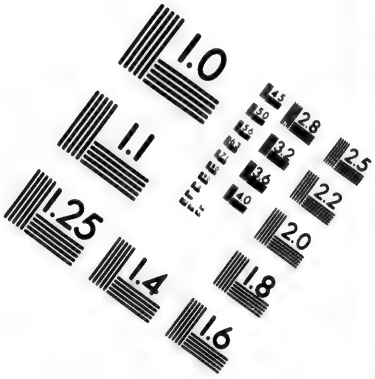
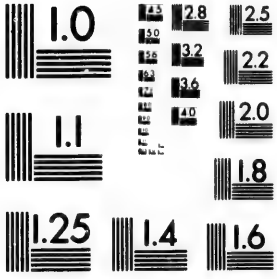
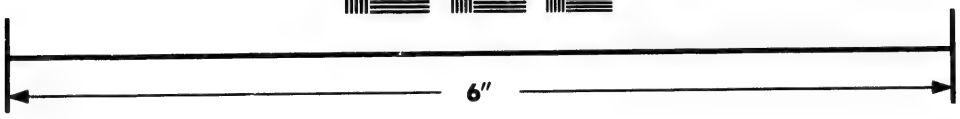
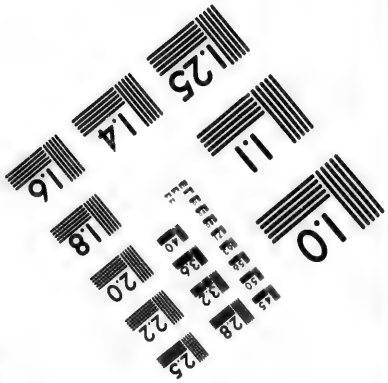


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)









Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

bush by the order of the king, but their hearts failed them on the approach of the invaders. Cortez reached Chalco, near the imperial city, not only without serious opposition, but with his forces increased by as many natives of the provinces through which he passed, as he chose to enlist under his banners. Enchantments and conjurations, to which Montezuma applied himself, with his whole corps of magicians, proved as ineffectual as his armies to arrest the enemy. It was still his purpose and hope, as the invaders well knew, to overwhelm and destroy them at a disadvantage, when they should enter his city.

The Spaniards reached Iztapalapa, on the great lake in which the city of Mexico was built, without further bloodshed, except the destruction of a few poor Indians who approached "too near" the encampment at Amemeca, probably from motives of curiosity. The lord of Tezcuco, upon the north-eastern border of the lake, a nephew of the emperor, visited them on their route with solemn ceremony.

Iztapalapa was built partly in the lake, although the receding waters have left the site mostly dry. The appearance of the place was truly Venetian. Over the broad expanse of water were seen the towers and buildings of numerous towns, at beholding which, together with the great causey which led to the island city, the Europeans, in the words of Diaz, "could compare it to nothing but the enchanted scenes read of in Amadis of Gaul, from the great towers and temples and other edifices of lime and stone which seemed to rise out of the water." "Never yet," he adds, "did man see, hear, or dream of anything equal to the spectacle which appeared to our eyes on this day."

The lords of the city assigned splendid buildings of stone for the troops to quarter in; and such was their astonishment at the perfection of the architectural skill displayed in the palaces; the beauty of the gardens; the alleys

of fruit and aromatic trees; the fountains, aqueducts, and artificial pools; and the vast concourse of curious natives, crowding the street and causey to gaze on the novel sight, or skimming the water in their light canoes, that "to many it appeared doubtful whether they were asleep or awake."

On the morning of the 8th of November, 1519, Cortez led his followers over the main causey into the imperial city. A great deputation of nobles and officers came out to meet him, and escorted the army into the city. The streets were empty, that the ceremony of the royal audience might not be impeded; but windows and balconies were thronged with eager spectators.

Montezuma now appeared, borne in a glittering palanquin, and accompanied by his chief officers, magnificently adorned, and displaying in their downcast looks and silent obsequiousness the reverence in which they held their monarch. As he dismounted and walked to meet Cortez, leaning on his relatives, the lords of Tezcuco and Iztapalapa, attendants spread carpets before him.

With unheard-of condescension and expression of respect, the king saluted the Spanish commander in Mexican style, stooping and touching the ground with his hand, and then raising it to his lips. He wore a robe of fine cotton, adorned with gems, golden sandals, and a light crown of gold supporting the ornamental circle of plumes, esteemed the most graceful head-dress. He was about forty years of age, of light complexion, and of majestic aspect and demeanor.

Cortez advanced, and placing a showy necklace round the monarch's neck, would have embraced him, but was gently restrained by the attendant lords—such familiarity being deemed unsuitable to their sovereign's greatness.

After mutual friendly speeches, the whole throng proceeded to the palaces set apart for the Spaniards' use, and

Montezuma, leading Cortez by the hand, conducted him to his apartment, and placed about his neck a golden collar.

During the week succeeding the entry into Mexico, ceremonious visits were interchanged by Cortez and the emperor. The Mexican prince conducted his guests through the royal palaces and gardens, and, in their company, visited the great temple of sacrifice. The historians of that day can find no language strong enough to express the wonder and admiration which the magnificent spectacle excited in the minds of the Spanish beholders. The pomp and state of the monarch; his crowd of obsequious attendants; his pleasure houses, aqueducts, fountains, and gardens of odoriferous shrubs; the extent of his wealth in jewels and the precious metals; his store of arms, and the number of his skilful artisans, are described and enlarged upon at great length.

It remains to this day a matter of astonishment that such huge buildings of hewn stone, as every where met the eye in the ancient city, could have been erected without the use of iron. Copper, hardened by an alloy of tin, was the only metal of which the tools were made by which the hard rock was laboriously shaped.

The indignation and horror excited by the bloody religious rites of the country, led Cortez to strive continually to impress upon the mind of his host the folly and absurdity of his religion. The only good effect that is said to have resulted from these arguments was the abandonment, on the part of the king, of the custom of having human flesh set upon his own table.

The principal temple is minutely described, and must, indeed, have presented a singular scene of horror and magnificence. It was surrounded by a wall, faced with wreathed serpents, carved in stone, the gateways to which were surmounted with statues. The roof of the main building was flat, and paved with beautifully polished

stones; and thereon appeared two hideous idols, seated upon thrones of state in all the splendor of barbaric ornament; while before them stood the terrible stone of sacrifice. This was a green mass of rock, five spans high, presenting a sharp angle at the top, over which the miserable victims were stretched, while the priest gashed open the living body with a rude knife of flint, and tore out the palpitating heart. "I devoted them and all their wickedness," says Diaz, "to God's vengeance, and thought that the time would never arrive that I should escape from this scene of human butchery, horrible smells, and more detestable sights." He tells of an apartment filled with wild animals and venomous reptiles, who were fed with the sacrificial flesh. Of these, the most dangerous serpents had "in their tails somewhat that sounds like castinets."—"These beasts and horrid reptiles were retained to keep company with their infernal Gods, and when these animals yelled and hissed, the palace seemed like hell itself." From this elevation, a beautiful view was obtained of the whole of the great salt lake in which the city stood, the towns of the vicinity, the long and well-built causeys connecting them, and the magnificent mountains beyond.

It would be tedious to relate the ceremonies of the royal court, although many of them are singular, and well worth the examination of those who would obtain a complete knowledge of a time and people varying so widely from any thing now known on earth. Among Montezuma's means of luxury or relaxation were the habits of smoking tobacco, drinking a fermented liquor of no little potency, and listening to the remarks of a set of buffoons whom he kept about him, in the same capacity as that of the court-fools of a past age in Europe.

An analogy to rites and customs of the Old World, no less striking, was noticed in many of the popular

religious observances. "It should seem that the Devil," as De Solis has it, "the Inventor of these Rites, was ambitious to imitate Baptism and Circumcision, with the same pride with which he endeavored to counterfeit the other Ceremonies, and even the Sacraments of the Catholic Church; since he introduced among these Barbarians the Confession of Sins, giving them to understand that thereby they obtained the Favor of their Gods. He instituted likewise a ridiculous sort of Communion, which the Priests administered upon certain Days in the Year, dividing into small Bits an Idol made of Flower, mix'd up into a Past with honey, which they called *the God of Penitence.*"—"Nay, they even gave their chief Priests the title of *Papas* in their Language; by which we find that this Imitation cost Satan a very particular study and application."

Marriages were performed by the priest's tying the veil of the woman to a portion of the man's dress, after certain prescribed preliminaries. In this guise the pair walked home together, and concluded the ceremony by pacing seven times round the domestic hearth. Divorces were at the discretion of the parties, and when they took place, the sons belonged to the man, the daughters to the woman. Hasty separations were guarded against by a provision that, should they again cohabit after having once broken the bond of union, both should be put to death. In some instances, on the death of the husband, his wife would immolate herself, according to the custom, until recently, so prevalent in India.

CHAPTER V.

SEIZURE AND IMPRISONMENT OF MONTEZUMA—EXECUTION OF QUALPOPOCA AND HIS COMPANIONS—OMINOUS PROSPECTS—EXPEDITION OF PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ—SUCCESS OF CORTEZ AGAINST HIM—RETURN TO MEXICO—OUTRAGE BY ALVARADO, AND CONSEQUENT TROUBLES—DEATH OF MONTEZUMA—THE "NOCHE TRISTE"—BATTLE OF OBTUMBA, AND ARRIVAL AT TLASCALA.

"And sounds that mingled laugh—and shout—and scream—
To freeze the blood in one discordant jar,
Rung to the pealing thunderbolts of war."

CAMPBELL.

CORTEZ was not yet satisfied; he felt his situation to be precarious, and that his object would not be fully accomplished until he had acquired complete mastery over the inhabitants of the imperial city. While he was on his march to Mexico, Juan de Escalente, commander of the garrison left at Vera Cruz, had, with six other Spaniards, perished in a broil with the natives. One soldier was taken prisoner, but dying of his wounds, his captors carried his head to Montezuma. The trophy proved an object of terror to the king, who trembled as he looked on the marks of manly strength which its contour and thick curled beard betokened, and ordered it from his presence.

Cortez knew of these events when at Cholula, but had kept them concealed from most of his people. He now adduced them, in select council of his officers, as reason—with other matters—for the bold step he purposed. This was to seize the person of Montezuma.

On the eighth day after the arrival at the city, Cortez took with him Alvarado, Velasquez de Leon, Avila, Sandoval, and Francisco de Lujo, and, ordering a number of his soldiers to keep in his vicinity, proceeded to the royal

palace. He conversed with Montezuma concerning the attack on the garrison at the coast, and professed belief in the Mexican prince's asseverations that he had no part in it; but added that, to quiet all suspicion on the part of the great emperor of the East, it would be best for him to remove to the Spanish quarters! Montezuma saw at once the degradation to which he was called upon to submit, but looking on the fierce Spaniards around him, and hearing an interpretation of their threats to dispatch him immediately if he did not comply, he suffered himself to be conducted to the palace occupied by his false friends.

To hide his disgrace from his subjects, the unhappy monarch assured the astonished concourse in the streets that he went of his own free will. Cortez, while he kept his prisoner secure by a constant and vigilant guard, allowed him to preserve all the outward tokens of royalty.

Meanwhile, Qualpopoca, the governor of the district where Juan de Escalente lost his life, was sent for, together with his associate officers. When they arrived, Cortez was allowed by Montezuma to punish them at his own discretion, and the inhuman monster caused them to be burned alive in the sight of the populace. The fuel used for this purpose consisted of the royal stores of arrows, darts, and other warlike implements. Still further to quell the spirit of the king, fetters were placed upon his ankles during the execution of this cruel sentence.

The people of Mexico could not be blinded to the true position of their sovereign, and it was not long before ominous signs appeared of a general determination to avenge his wrongs, and vindicate the insulted honor of the nation. The young lord of the ancient and powerful city of Tezcuco was foremost in arousing this spirit of resistance, but by artifice and treachery he fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and his brother was proclaimed governor in his stead.

The king was brought so low as to consent to acknowledge himself a subject of the Spanish emperor; and he delivered up to Cortez treasures of gold and silver to the amount, according to computation, of more than six millions of dollars, as a present to his new sovereign. But a small portion of this wealth was reserved to be sent to Spain; the rest was divided among the conquerors, the chiefs and officers appropriating the lion's share.

The next movement was to establish the Christian ceremonies of worship upon the very site so long venerated as the palace of the great god of war. After strong opposition, a portion of the area on the summit of the chief temple was set apart for the Spaniards' use in the solemnities of their religion, while the blood-stained idol and the stone of sacrifice maintained their old position.

At these sacrilegious innovations the whole populace became more and more exasperated. Montezuma warned his oppressors of the storm that would break upon them, declaring that if he should but give the sign, his whole people would rise as one man to release him and destroy the hated whites. The unfortunate monarch seems to have been distracted and overcome by emotions of the most conflicting nature. For some of the Spanish officers he had contracted no small degree of personal attachment, while he must have felt continually galled by the restraint placed upon his person, and by the consciousness that he was now but a tool in the hands of the proud invaders of his dominions. The mildness and dignity of his demeanor excited sympathy and respect from his jailors, and Cortez exacted the utmost deference and respect towards his captive from all around him.

The prudent general saw the necessity for every precaution against an attack from the natives, and, to guard against his retreat being cut off, on such a contingency, had two vessels built and furnished from the stores saved

from the dismantled fleet. Living upon an island, it was in the power of the natives at any time to destroy the bridges and causeys, by which alone there was communication with the main.

At this crisis, when all his energies were required to resist the fury of an outraged multitude of barbarians around him, Cortez heard of danger from another source, which moved him more deeply than any hostilities on the part of the Mexicans.

The jealous Cuban governor, Velasquez, enraged at his presumption in throwing off the authority under which he had sailed, fitted out a formidable armament to overthrow the newly-acquired power of Cortez. The fleet under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez reached the Mexican coast, and news of its arrival were conveyed to Cortez in the month of May, 1520.

With his usual decision and promptness, the general divided his forces, and leaving the larger portion under Alvarado to maintain possession of the capital, he marched to check the advance of Narvaez. By the boldness of a night attack, followed up by the most consummate policy in winning over the good wishes, and exciting the cupidity of the newly-arrived army, he converted his enemies to friends, and, placing the leader in confinement, hastened back to the city with his powerful auxiliaries. His return was timely indeed. Alvarado had been guilty of an act of barbarity, (whether caused by avarice, by a supposed necessity, or by a desire to ape the valiant achievements of his master, cannot now be ascertained,) which had brought down upon him and his garrison the fury and indignation of the whole Aztec nation.

Upon an occasion of great public ceremonials at the Teocalli, or temple, at which were gathered a great concourse of the nobility and chiefs, the Spaniards, placing a guard at the gates of the outer wall, mingled with the

unarmed company, and, at an appointed sign, fell upon and murdered every Mexican present.

A general rush upon the Spanish quarters, which followed this event, was only checked by the appearance of Montezuma himself upon one of the towers of the building, who, knowing doubtless that his own life could scarcely be preserved in such a melee, requested his subjects to forbear. They therefore contented themselves with besieging the garrison, and cutting off supplies of food and wholesome water.

It was on St. John's day in the month of June, that Cortez rëentered the city. The streets were silent and deserted, and with doubt and apprehension he proceeded to the Spanish palace. The soldiers of the garrison were overjoyed at the sight of the recruits, and received their brethren with open arms. Cortez saw the folly of Alvarado's conduct, and in his first mood of indignation and petulance, at the probable frustration of his plans, he indulged in contemptuous treatment of his royal captive.

The state of ominous silence observed in the city did not continue long. News came in that the Indians were destroying the bridges; and a body of four hundred men, under De Ordas, who were sent out to reconnoitre, were driven back, with a loss of twenty-three of their number. Such crowds of natives poured forth from their places of concealment, that the streets were choked with the living mass, while from balcony and roof-tops, a storm of weapons and missiles of every description rained upon the heads of the Spanish troops.

Surrounding the quarters of the Spaniards, and using every endeavor to burn the wooden portion of the buildings, the wild horde of enraged Mexicans continued the assault, with desperate fury, till nightfall.

Cortez attempted a sally with the first dawn of the following day, but he soon found that he had an enemy to

encounter of far different spirit from those who had heretofore opposed him. Diaz says, "If we had been ten thousand Hectors of Troy, and as many Roldans, we could not have beaten them off.—Some of our soldiers who had been in Italy, swore that neither among Christians nor Turks had they ever seen such desperation as was manifested in the attacks of those Indians." The artillery in vain swept them down, for thousands were ready to rush over the fallen bodies of their comrades, and continue the battle with augmented fierceness. The Spaniards were finally forced to retreat. Various expedients were tried by the indefatigable Spanish general to quell the insurrection, and to dislodge the assailants, who shot their weapons from every high building in the vicinity of the garrison. Moving towers of wood were constructed, to be drawn through the street by companies of Tlascalans, while Spanish warriors from the interior discharged volleys of musquetry upon the Indians. Many hundred houses were destroyed by fire, but, being principally of stone, no general conflagration ensued.

As a last resort, the great king himself, decked in his robes of state, was taken to the tower from which he had before succeeded in quieting the angry populace. The multitude listened with deferential awe, but when they heard again the palpable falsehood that he staid among the Spaniards by his own free will, reverence gave way to contempt and indignation. Revilings and reproaches were followed by a shower of stones and arrows. The attendant soldiers in vain interposed their shields to protect the emperor: he fell, severely wounded upon the head by a stone. The crowd now retired, appalled at the sacrilege that they had committed. But the work was done: the miserable Montezuma, overcome with rage, mortification, and despair, would accept of no assistance, either surgical or spiritual from the Spaniards. In three days,

says de Solis, "he surrendered up to the Devil the eternal Possession of his Soul, employing the latest moments of his Breath in impious Thoughts of sacrificing his Enemies to his Fury and Revenge."

For the particulars of the various sorties; the ceaseless fighting; and, above all, the terrible scene at the storming of the holy temple, the reader must refer to more extensive treatises than this; suffice it that, weakened by continual fatigue, and day by day less able to resist the assaults of the enemy, the Spaniards finally concluded to evacuate the city. One Botello, a soldier who was reputed a necromancer, as he "spoke Latin, and had been at Rome," announced a certain night as the only time when the army could escape utter destruction.

Cortez, whether moved by superstition or aware of its influence with the army, and hopeless of longer maintaining a hold on the capital under existing circumstances, made preparations to march. He attempted to blind his proceedings by pretended treaties with the Mexicans, proposing to evacuate the city peaceably within eight days, while, at the same time, he was ordering every thing for an instantaneous departure. A portable bridge was prepared to afford the means for crossing the gaps in the causey made by the enemy.

On the night of the first of July, (1520), the general brought out the immense treasures of gold stored in his chamber, and, having separated the portion allotted to the crown, told the soldiery to take what they would, but cautioned them against encumbering themselves.

It was near midnight, and dark and rainy, when the troops were put in motion. They were in the act of passing the first breach, over the portable bridge, when the alarm was given that the "Teules were going," and the cry of "Taltelulco, Taltelulco, (out with your canoes)" resounded over the water. The Spaniards were doomed

to greater disaster and misery on this night, known as the "noche triste," or night of sorrow, than they had ever yet experienced. An innumerable horde of dusky figures beset the causey, and attacked the fugitives in front, flank, and rear.

By a complication of misfortune, the bridge broke, and from the struggling mass of men and horses, the few who could obtain footing on the causey were mostly killed, or their cries for help were heard by their companions as they were borne off in the canoes of the enemy, doomed victims for sacrifice. The cavalry, who were in advance, hastened forward, hopeless of relieving those whose retreat had been cut off, and who were blindly contending in the darkness with the fierce and enraged Aztecs.

Alvarado, dismounted and wounded, came up with the advance, on foot, accompanied by three soldiers and eight Tlascalans. He reported the destruction of the rear-guard, together with their leader, Velasquez de Leon. According to some accounts, Alvarado had made his escape by an extraordinary leap over the gap, but Diaz denies the possibility of the act.

The wearied and disabled remnant of the proud army of Cortez pursued their route towards the friendly district of Tlascala, followed by detached companies of Mexicans, who attacked the fugitives in the rear, and, with insulting shouts, bade them hasten to the doom that awaited them.

Near a place called Obtumba, the Indians were found arrayed upon a plain in countless hosts, to obstruct the march, and finish the work so successfully commenced on the night of the retreat. There was no way to avoid a general engagement, and every Spaniard nerved himself for the desperate struggle. We quote from Bernal Diaz—"Oh what it was to see this tremendous battle! how we closed foot to foot, and with what fury the dogs fought us! such wounding as there was amongst us with their

lances and clubs, and two-handed swords, while our cavalry, favoured by the plain ground, rode through them at will.—Then, to hear the valiant Sandoval how he encouraged us, crying out, 'Now, gentlemen, is the day of victory; put your trust in God, we shall survive, for he preserves us for some good purpose.'"

The royal standard was taken, its bearer being slain, and the whole multitude were put to flight, and hewn down by hundreds in their retreat. The Spaniards pushed on to Tlascala, not without misgivings as to the reception they should meet with in their present crippled and suffering condition. These fears proved groundless: the friendly Tlascalans embraced them affectionately; wept over their loss; and gently rebuked them for trusting the treacherous Mexicans.

During the "noche triste," and upon the march to Tlascala, eight hundred and seventy Spaniards are recorded to have perished in battle, or to have been doomed, as prisoners, to a far more terrible fate. Of their Tlascalan allies more than a thousand were slain. Only four hundred and forty of the Spanish troops reached Tlascala, and these were many of them wounded and disabled, and were ill supplied with arms. Some accounts state that the Mexican army, at Obtumba, numbered two hundred thousand men, and that twenty thousand of these fell in the engagement or were slaughtered in their tumultuous retreat.

CHAPTER VI.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE ATTACK ON THE CITY OF MEXICO—BUILDING AND TRANSPORTATION OF BRIGANTINES—SIEGE LAID TO THE CITY—ASSAULT BY THE SPANIARDS, AND THEIR REPULSE—SACRIFICE OF PRISONERS—CAPTURE OF GUATIMOZIN, AND CONQUEST OF THE CAPITAL.

> And Aztec priests, upon their teocallis,
> Beat the wild war-drum, made of serpents' skin."
> LONGFELLOW.

On the death of Montezuma, his brother Cuitlahua, governor of Iztapalapa, had taken the supreme command over the Aztecs. He had been prime mover in the revolt which resulted in the expulsion of the Spaniards from the city, and it was by his orders that their flight had been so fiercely followed up. At the present juncture, he sent heralds to propose a treaty of peace with the friendly tribe by whose hospitality the Spanish army was now supported, proposing the destruction of the whites, who had brought such woes upon the whole country. A portion of the Tlascalan assembly looked approvingly upon the suggestion, but the older and wiser members, reflecting upon the known treachery of the Mexicans, and their former acts of oppression, refused to listen to it.

Cortez, perceiving discontent to be rife among his men, determined not to remain idle, but to keep their attention constantly employed. Some, who were pining for ease and quiet, he allowed to take ship for Cuba, while by every argument he appealed to the honor and valor of his veterans, urging them not to desist at the first failure, but to stand by their general and reinstate their fallen fortunes. He engaged in bloody conflicts with Mexican tribes on

either side of Tlascala, with the most distinguished success; and taking possession of the town of Tepeaca, a few leagues distant, established his head-quarters there.

By singular good fortune, several ships, bringing fresh troops to support Narvaez, arrived from Cuba, and the adventurers, learning the true position of affairs, readily joined the popular leader. Another expedition, sent by the governor of Jamaica to form a settlement farther up the coast, only contributed to swell the resources of Cortez; those engaged in the undertaking deeming it more profitable to unite with the followers of so renowned a general, than to undergo the dangers and hardship of establishing themselves unassisted among hostile savages.

Cortez determined to make every preparation for a renewed attack upon the city of Mexico. Returning to Tlascala, he set himself to equip and furnish his troops, and to train the Indian allies in the art of war. Gunpowder was manufactured; the sulphur being procured from the neighboring volcano of Popocatapetl. The most important part of his schemes, however, was the building a number of small vessels, or brigantines, by means of which his troops could be made independent of the narrow and dangerous causeys. These vessels he ordered to be made in separate pieces, of such a size that they could be transported over the mountains by the Indian carriers: the stores and rigging were brought from the coast by the same means of conveyance.

On the 28th of December Cortez led his army forth from Tlascala. The Spanish force was less than that with which the first invasion was undertaken, but was superior in martial equipments. The whole army consisted of about six hundred whites, and ten thousand, or upwards, of Tlascalans. They marched direct for Tezcuco, on the great lake of Mexico. No opposition was made during the march, and the city was yielded to them without a

struggle, nearly all the inhabitants deserting it in their boats. Here it was determined to await the completion and arrival of the brigantines.

While all these formidable preparations were going on, important changes had taken place in the Aztec monarchy. Cuitlahua, or Quetlavaca, had perished by that terrible scourge the small-pox, which was introduced from the old country by one of Narvaez's ships, and which spread over all Mexico, carrying off thousands of the natives. The new emperor Guatimozin, a brave and noble youth, was nephew and successor to Montezuma. The beauty and gallant bearing of this prince excited the admiration of all beholders; while his intelligence and valor, combined with the hatred which he bore towards the whites, made him an enemy to be dreaded. He had devoted his whole attention, since his accession, to fortifying and defending his capital. The unserviceable inhabitants were sent into the country, while warriors from all sides were called to rally round the Aztec banner within the city.

The remainder of the winter and the early months of spring were occupied by the Spaniards in sallies against neighboring towns and districts; the reduction of the disaffected; the conciliation of those inclined to cöoperate with the besiegers; and, above all, the completion and transportation of the vessels. We must pass over the skirmishes and battles which occurred during this period. It would be little more than a repetition of scenes of cruelty, horror, and bloodshed. The spirit of the Aztecs was unsubdued, and their new emperor haughtily refused to listen to any terms of treaty, although Cortez commissioned sundry prisoners of rank to endeavor to move him. Success in occupying many strong and populous towns, together with the arrival of fresh recruits, served to encourage the Spaniards in the hopes of final triumph. Thousands of natives were employed in digging a canal by which the

little fleet should be launched. The beams and planks of the vessels ready to be joined, with all the paraphernalia of nautical outfit, were carried in state by an immense concourse of Tlascalans, charged with the burthen, or acting as a guard of protection. Diaz says that no less than eight thousand men served in each of these capacities, while two thousand more followed with provisions. About the last of April (1521) the thirteen brigantines, fitted for service, were launched into the canal.

The addition of an armed flotilla, which, urged by wind and oars, could bear down upon and scatter the frail canoes of the natives, proved of incalculable advantage. The size of the vessels, the thunder of their cannons, their speed, and the skill with which they were managed and controlled, must have filled the Mexicans with amazement.

Near the end of May a regular system of siege was entered upon, by the occupation of the three great approaches to the city. The inhabitants were unwearied in their attacks, and a degree of vigilance and courage on the part of the Spaniards, scarce equalled in any age or country, only preserved them from utter destruction. "For ninety-three days together," says Diaz, "we were employed in the siege of this great and strong city, and every day and every night we were engaged with the enemy.—Were I to extend my narrative to every action which took place, it would be almost endless, and my history would resemble that of Amadis and the other books of chivalry."

Every expedient, of driving sunken palisades to entangle the vessels; of pit-falls for the cavalry; and of cutting gaps in the causeys, was resorted to by the besieged, and persevered in with a determination and obstinacy only rivalled by the stern temper of the obdurate invaders.

There was necessarily great suffering on both sides, exclusive of the horrors of actual warfare, from the scarcity of provision. Maize was the principal resort; but

the hordes of Indian allies sustained existence by a more foul repast, feeding upon the bodies that were every where scattered over the causeys, or floating in the lake—ghastly memorials of each day's slaughter. Knowing the insufficiency of their own supplies, the Spaniards dared not forbid this practice.

Cortez at last determined upon an assault from three different quarters, with his whole force. Fierce battles had already been fought within the city walls; the great Teocalli had been a second time carried by storm, and its officiating priests thrown from its summit; the royal palace, with its adjoining buildings, and the old fortress where the Spaniards had formerly quartered, had been destroyed; but no general assault had been made. After some discussion, in which the hazard of risking so much upon a single onslaught was fully discussed, the general determined to undertake it, and issued his orders for a simultaneous advance—the march over the causeys to be protected by the cöoperation of the brigantines.

The three divisions under Cortez, Alvarado, and Sandoval, were put in motion on the ensuing morning. Orders were given that each party should secure a safe retreat by thoroughly filling up all gaps in the causeys as they made their way towards the heart of the city. Neglect of this prudent arrangement proved most disastrous. An advanced force. under Alderete, encouraged by the little show of resistance, pressed on nearly to the great square, leaving behind them a breach in the causey, (through which the water from the canal on either side was flowing to a depth of two fathoms) with very slight and inefficient means for rēcrossing. As Cortez came up to this spot, he began to suspect that his men were entrapped; he saw that the causey had been narrowed, and at once perceived the terrible confusion that must ensue, in case of precipitate retreat. While endeavoring to atone for this careless-

ness by filling the dike, Cortez and his followers heard the blast of the horn of the Aztec emperor, Guatimozin, followed by a deafening yell from his enraged warriors, and shortly after, Alderete's party were seen crowding the causey in their flight from an overwhelming mass of the natives. At the gap a scene of terrible slaughter ensued. Men and horses, floundering in the deep mud to which the way was reduced; thrust into the water by the pressure of their own numbers, and seized by the enemy, whose canoes filled the canals, presented a miserable scene of hopeless disorder. Cortez himself was nearly borne away captive, in his endeavors to rescue the drowning sufferers from the dike. Six stout warriors laid hold of him, and would have secured him as a notable offering to their idols, but for the self-sacrificing devotion of his officers and men. His whole surviving party were obliged to retreat, making their way back to the camp under the protecting fire of the brigantines.

The division under Alvarado was also driven from the city, after having made some hopeful advance, driving in their first opponents. The second body of natives who stopped their progress, threw down five Spanish heads, saying that they were those of Cortez and his officers. In the retreat the great drum was heard sounding from the summit of the principal teocalli: "Its mournful noise was such as may be imagined the music of the infernal gods, and it might be heard at the distance of almost three leagues." Diaz, who gives this description, says that the enemy were then sacrificing ten of the Spaniards' hearts to their gods. This was just before the blast of the royal horn—a signal which roused the Aztecs to an indescribable pitch of fury and courage.

Sandoval fared little better than the rest, and the Spanish army, completely foiled, returned to the several encampments, frightfully reduced in numbers, deprived of

many of their invaluable horses, and, above all, dispirited by the thought that sixty or more of their brethren were alive in the hands of the enemy, destined victims at their infernal orgies.

As night approached, the booming of the great drum on the temple aroused the attention of the Spaniards, and, looking towards the city, they could distinctly perceive several of their unfortunate companions led up for sacrifice, decked out in gaudy plumes and coronals. A strong light thrown by the fires on the platform upon their white and naked bodies made the sickening sight too palpably distinct, while the shrieks of the victims rose above even the rude din of barbarous music and exultant shouts. The ceremony was followed by a furious attack upon the Spanish camps.

Not even scenes like this could shake the indomitable resolution of these men of iron. They continued to occupy the three causeys by which alone the city could be approached, except in boats, and using every endeavor to cut off supplies of provisions, made a steady and entrenched advance upon the capital. For ten successive nights they witnessed the butchery of the Spanish prisoners upon the green stone of sacrifice, without the power to render them the least assistance. As their hearts were torn out and burned before the idol, the priests drew the mangled remains down the stone steps.—Some of the Indians, mid their taunts and revilings, averred that the Spanish flesh was "too bitter to be eaten; and truly, it seems that such a miracle was wrought." "Let the reader think," says the old chronicler, Diaz, "what were our sensations on this occasion. Oh heavenly God! said we to ourselves, do not suffer us to be sacrificed by these wretches."

To add to the Spaniards' distress, the great body of their Indian allies deserted them at this crisis. They had be-

gun to lose their confidence in the invincibility of the whites; and the prediction of the Mexican priests, that within eight days the besiegers should be destroyed, had its effect upon their superstitious minds. Ixtilxochitl, the Tezcucan chief, who had been raised by Cortez to the government of the city on its abdication by his enemies, remained faithful.

When the eight days were passed, these fickle allies began to return, with fresh confidence, to the assistance of the besiegers. With determined energy the Spaniards forced their passage, foot by foot, towards the centre of the capital. Securing their way behind them, and demolishing the buildings as they proceeded, they more than recovered from their grand reverse. The miserable inhabitants were reduced to the utmost extremity by famine. Crowded together in the quarter of the city to which they were driven, they perished by thousands, but nothing seemed to tame their fierce and unyielding spirit. Guatimozin refused to listen to terms, although Cortez repeatedly sent embassies of prisoners, proposing a peaceable cession of the place. Stores and men were added to the Spanish resources, by the arrival at Villa Rica of a vessel belonging to a fleet fitted out by De Aillon, which was mostly destroyed on the reefs of Florida.

After the three divisions of the army had worked their way completely through the city, and Guatimozin and his people were confined in a limited district on the lake, the fury of their sallies seemed undiminished. When they were finally unable longer to keep their monarch in safety, a last attempt was made to effect an escape in the piraguas or large canoes.

The brigantines were immediately dispatched to intercept and destroy the flotilla which now spotted the lake The natives fought desperately, as usual, attacking the armed vessels of the Spaniards, regardless of the destruc-

tion occasioned by the artillery. Sandoval, who commanded in this service, despatched Garcia Holguin, with the swiftest of the brigantines, to the spot where the emperor would probably steer, with orders to take him prisoner alive, if possible.

The attempt was successful, and the royal barge was taken, containing Guatimozin, his beautiful wife, (a daughter or niece of Montezuma) and his chief followers. Being brought before Cortez, the king addressed his conqueror in terms of proud but despairing submission, bidding him draw his poinard, and put an end to the life of a monarch who had striven to the last for his people, but in vain. Cortez endeavored to reassure him by caresses and kind words, ordering the queen and attendants to be treated with courtesy and respect.

While this scene was enacting, and during the previous day, a work of such fearful carnage had been going on in the Mexican quarters as no pen can describe. No one can presume to enumerate those who fell. Diaz reports as follows: "What I am going to mention is truth, and I swear and say amen to it. I have read of the destruction of Jerusalem, but I cannot conceive that the mortality there exceeded this of Mexico; for all the people from the distant provinces which belonged to this empire, had concentrated themselves here, where they mostly died. The streets, the squares, the houses, and the courts of the Taltelulco, (where the Mexicans were last entrenched) were covered with dead bodies; we could not step without treading on them; the lake and canals were filled with them, and the stench was intolerable."

It is due to the Spanish general to say that he endeavored repeatedly to stay this butchery, but his Indian allies could not be restrained, now that an opportunity was presented for safely wreaking their vengeance on their hereditary foes.

The capture of Guatimozin, which consummated the conquest of the city, took place on the thirteenth of August, 1521. All contention immediately ceased when this was accomplished. Diaz says: "We felt like so many men just escaped from a steeple where all the bells were ringing about our ears.—This was owing to the continual noise of the enemy for ninety-three days—Shouting, calling, whistling, as signals to attack us, &c.—Then, from the temples and adoratories of their accursed idols, the timbals and horns, and the mournful sound of their great drum, and other dismal noises were incessantly assailing our ears, so that day or night we could hardly hear each other speak."

By Guatimozin's request, the city was cleared of its inhabitants, that it might be effectually purified. The causeys were crowded for three successive days and nights with a horde of such miserable, diseased, and helpless wretches, creeping slowly away from their former proud capital, "that it was misery to behold them."

The booty discovered by the conquerors in no degree equalled their anticipations. It was supposed that great quantities of gold had been thrown into the lake, and divers were employed in the search for it, but with little effect. The unfortunate Guatimozin, and the lord of the city of Tacuba were put to the torture, with the assent of Cortez, to extort from them information as to the places where they had concealed their treasures. Cortez objected to this piece of barbarity, but permitted it that the suspicion might not rest upon him of having, by connivance, appropriated the plunder to his own use.

The young monarch, in this extremity, preserved his dignity and composure, enduring the cruelties of his tormentors with Indian fortitude. When the barbarous inflictions of the Spaniards drew forth groans or complaints from his companion in suffering, Guatimozin silenced him

with the calm interrogative, "Think'st thou, then, that I am taking my pleasure in my bath?" Nothing was gained by the inhuman transaction, although the emperor told of a place in the lake where gold had been thrown, and the lord of Tacuba confessed that he had stores at a house in the country. These declarations were probably made merely for the purpose of escaping present anguish.

CHAPTER VII.

RE[illegible]LDING OF THE CITY—EXTENSION OF SPANISH POWER—[illegible]E MARCH TO HONDURAS—EXECUTION OF GUATIMOZIN—DONNA MARINA—MODERN MEXICO.

"Now they are gone—gone as thy setting blaze
Goes down the west, while night is pressing on,
And with them the old tale of better days,
And trophies of remembered power are gone."

BRYANT.

WITHIN a few years after the scenes we have just described, the royal city of the Aztec monarchs rose from its ruins with renewed splendor; but under what different circumstances from those which attended its first establishment! The proud-spirited nation, reduced to degrading servitude, was compelled to build and plant for the benefit of the victorious Spaniards, whose power daily increased with the multitudes flocking from the Old World to seek wealth or novelty in the sunny climes of New Spain.

The modern city of Mexico presents a very different aspect from that of the ancient capital. By the drainage of the lake, it no longer stands upon an island; and the causeys, which led to it, still used as public roads, are said to be scarcely distinguishable from the other highways.

All the surrounding tribes who did not yield implicitly to the dictates of the general, when the great city was destroyed, were promptly quelled and humbled. Confirmed in his authority by royal commission—for the efforts of his enemies could avail little against the universal acclamation which followed the news of his successes—Cortez continued to increase the extent of Spanish dominion, and still more effectually to crush all spirit of opposition among the miserable Mexicans. We cannot detail the terrible examples of vengeance which followed any attempt to throw off the galling yoke. With such coadjutors as Alvarado, Sandoval, and other of his veteran officers, resistance to his supremacy proved worse than vain. The stake or the halter was the ready instrument by which the crime of rebellion was punished.

In October of 1524, Cortez, with a small force of Spaniards, and a large body of natives, undertook a long and difficult march to Honduras. His purpose was to chastise the rebellious de Olid, who had thrown off his general's authority. Although the details of the dangers, hardships, and adventures in this expedition are minute and interesting, we only refer to it as giving occasion for the destruction of the last Aztec monarch. Continually apprehensive of a new revolt, Cortez had, ever since the conquest, kept his royal prisoner a close attendant on his person. Together with his faithful vassal, the lord of Tacuba, Guatimozin was taken to accompany the party to Honduras. At Gueyacala, or Aculan, a conspiracy of the Mexicans in the train to fall upon and massacre the Spaniards, was reported to the general, and attributed to the influence of these two nobles. All participation in this plot was denied by the captives, but slight suspicion was sufficient to furnish an excuse to the unscrupulous Spaniard for ridding himself of a constant source of anxiety.

Guatimozin and the Tacuban governor were both hanged

by his orders. Diaz affirms that there was but one opinion among the company, that this was "a most unjust and cruel sentence." He proceeds to say that Cortez suffered much in his conscience for this act—"He was so distracted by these thoughts that he could not rest in his bed at night, and, getting up in the dark to walk about, as a relief from his anxieties, he went into a large apartment where some of the idols were worshipped. Here he missed his way, and fell from the height of twelve feet, to the ground, receiving a desperate wound and contusions in his head. This circumstance he tried to conceal, keeping his sufferings to himself, and getting his hurts cured as well as he could."

An interesting incident occurred on this march relative to the history of the faithful interpreter Donna Marina. The course taken led the army through her native province, and it so chanced that, at a great conclave of chiefs and principal inhabitants to hold conference with the Spaniards, her mother and brother were present. The unnatural parent, who had so long before sold her daughter as a slave, thought the hour of retribution was at hand, but Marina encouraged and caressed her, making her offerings of jewels and other attractive trifles. She avowed her attachment to the Spaniards and their religion, expressing great pride and satisfaction in the son and the husband, for both of whom she stood indebted to her noble master and friend.

We must now take leave of the historical detail of Mexican chronicles, with a few remarks upon the condition of the Indians subsequent to the conquest, the changes since wrought by lapse of time, the introduction of a foreign population, and the mixture of races.

For a long period the mass of the natives were compelled to waste their lives in hopeless toil on the plantations, in the mines, or at the rising cities of their oppressors.

Cortez felt and expressed some compunctious visitings of conscience at the adoption of this general system of slavery, but fell in with it as being essential to the maintainance of Spanish power and the speedy growth of the colonies. He saw that the mental capacity of the people was far superior to that of the other North American aborigines, and felt some natural regret that their national pride should be entirely humbled, and their opportunities for civilization and improvement be so entirely cut off. A better state of things was gradually brought about, and the inhabitants of pure native descent are now spoken of as a cheerful, courteous race, busying themselves in the simpler arts of manufacture, cultivating their fields, and enjoying the equable freedom from anxiety, so congenial to the mild and delicious climate of their country.

Pulque, the intoxicating drink of the Mexicans, is productive of the evil effects that such beverages always produce among the Indians of America; and, in the large cities, a disgusting horde of lazaroni disfigures the public squares. In the city of Mexico, these beggars are especially numerous.

The half-breeds, who form at the present day so extensive a portion of the population, present every variety of social position. Some of Montezuma's descendants married into noble families of Spain, and their posterity arrived at great wealth and dignity. The wife of Guatimozin, after his execution, married successively no less than three Castilians of honorable family. She is every where spoken of as a woman of charming appearance and attractive manners. A descendant of the former emperor of the Aztecs held the office of Spanish viceroy in Mexico as late as the close of the seventeenth century.

THE FLORIDA INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY EXPEDITIONS OF SPANISH ADVENTURERS—PONCE DE LEON—L. VALASQUEZ DE AYLLON—PAMPHILO DE NARVAEZ—FERNANDO DE SOTO—HIS LANDING AND ESTABLISHMENT AT TAMPA—STORY OF JOHN ORTIZ, A SPANISH CAPTIVE AMONG THE INDIANS.

FEW portions of the Western Continent have witnessed such scenes of barbarous warfare between the natives and European adventurers, or between subjects of contending nations at the East, as the long low peninsula which lies at the southern extremity of the Atlantic sea-coast of the United States. Its whole history is strangely romantic, and might well tempt us away from our subject, were there room to chronicle all the interesting details of its discovery, conquest and settlement.

The first picture presented to our minds, when we turn back to these early times, is of Juan Ponce de Leon, governor of Porto Rico, led by Indian fables in 1512 to search amid the low islands of the coast for a fountain that should bestow perpetual youth; landing upon the green and flowery shores, and bestowing upon the country its pleasing and musical appellation. All of North America, to the northward and eastward of Mexico, went by the name of Florida, before English settlements were made upon the coast. Failing in his first search, Leon undertook a second expedition into the unknown world, in hopes of finding mines of the precious metals, but was killed in a fight with the natives.

The perfidious Luke Valasquez de Ayllon, in 1518, visited the coast to the northward of Florida, to procure gold and slaves. The kindly natives, whom he tempted on board, were shut under hatches, and conveyed to Cuba. Returning again to the country, he and his party were justly punished for their treachery, nearly all of them being slain by the inhabitants, who, mindful of former injuries, rose upon them unawares, after putting them off their guard by demonstrations of friendship. Those who had been carried into servitude mostly perished, some by voluntary starvation, and others from grief and despair.

The Indians of Florida are represented by all early historians as a high-spirited and courageous race, showing considerable skill in agriculture, and exhibiting marks of far greater civilization than those of the North. It seems not improbable, judging from their traditions, appearance and customs, that they, as well as the Natchez, had emigrated from Mexico, perhaps at no very remote period. They resided in towns and villages of considerable extent, and showed a degree of resolution and desperate valor, in defending their homes against the murderous Spaniards, which has seldom been equalled. Unappalled by the terrible execution of the unknown weapons of their enemies, who, mounted upon horses (hitherto unknown in the country) and clad in defensive armor, presented a novel and unaccountable spectacle to their wondering eyes, they disputed the invaded territory inch by inch.

Like most of their red brethren, they could not long brook the indignity of slavery; the proud spirit of the Indian can never, like that of the African, be so humbled that his race can continue and multiply in servitude.

The old Portuguese narrator of De Soto's conquest, speaking of the Indian slaves of Cuba, says that their custom was to hang themselves, to escape the toil and degradation of working the mines He tells of an over-

seer in the service of Vasco Porcalho, (afterwards De Soto's lieutenant-general,) who, "knowing the Indians under his charge had resolved to hang themselves, went and staid for them at the place where they intended to put this dismal resolution into execution, with a rope in his hand: he told them they must not imagine that any of their designs were hid from him, and that he was come to hang himself with them, that he might torment them in the other world an hundred times more than he had done in this." His expedient had the desired effect upon their superstitious and credulous minds, and, giving up their purpose, they returned submissively to their tasks.

Pamphilo de Narvaez, in April, 1528, with a commission from Charles the Fifth to conquer and take possession, landed four hundred men and forty or fifty horses at East Florida. Penetrating the wilderness, they crossed the country to Appalache, sometimes experiencing kind treatment from the Indians, at other times in danger from their attacks. Finding no gold, and but little provision at this town, from which they drove out the inhabitants on their first arrival, the Spaniards shaped their course to the south towards Aute. Tormented by hunger; beset by hidden foes; disheartened by the terrible difficulties which beset their path, from the almost impassable natural conformation of the country; and worn out by incessant exertion, Narvaez and his men reached Aute only to find it burned and deserted by its inhabitants.

Many of the party having already perished, the rest, hopeless of making further progress by land, set to work to construct boats in which they might reach a port of safety. With singular ingenuity they prepared tools from the iron of their accoutrements; and, with no further materials than were furnished by the productions of the forest, and the manes, tails, and skins of their horses, five small boats were built. They embarked and set sail, but nearly

all perished, either by famine or by the dangers of the sea. Only a handful of the number were ever heard from, among whom was Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca. With only four companions he kept on his course to the West, and, after years of peril, hardship, and servitude, reached the Spanish settlements of Mexico.

The next Spanish expedition to Florida was of far more importance and interest than either that had preceded it. The celebrated Fernando de Soto, after acquiring an immense fortune as a companion of Pizarro, at Peru, was moved by the restless spirit of adventure to undertake a more complete examination of the New World opened to Spanish cupidity and curiosity.

With seven ships of his own providing, and accompanied by from six hundred to one thousand warlike and energetic adventurers, many of whom were of noble rank, De Soto set sail, in the month of April, 1538. Upwards of a year was spent, mostly upon the island of Cuba, before the fleet set sail for the Florida coast. In the latter part of May, 1539, the vessels came to anchor off the bay of Espiritu Santo, now Tampa Bay, on the western sea-board, and a large division of soldiers, both horse and foot, were landed. The Indians had taken the alarm, and, although the smoke of their fires had been seen from ship-board in various directions, all had fled from the district, or lay concealed in the thickets. De Soto appears to have been desirous to proceed upon peaceable terms with the natives, but hostilities soon followed. Some skirmishes took place near the point of landing, and the Spaniards speedily possessed themselves of the nearest village, where were the head-quarters of the cacique Ucita or Hiriga. Here De Soto established himself in "the lord's house," which was built upon a mound by the sea-shore; while the soldiers used the materials of the other buildings in constructing barracks.

At the inland extremity of the town stood the temple devoted by the Indians to religious observances. Over the entrance of this building was the wooden figure of a fowl, having the eyes gilded—placed there for the purpose of ornament, or as symbolic of the tutelary deity of the place.

Clearings were now made around the village, to give free scope to the operations of the cavalry, and parties were sent out to explore the country, and to make prisoners who should serve as guides or hostages.

The remembrance of horrible outrages committed upon himself and his people by Narvaez, had so embittered the old chief Hiriga against the whites, that no professions of friendship and good will could appease his hatred. De Soto released prisoners who were taken by his scouting parties, charging them with presents and conciliatory messages for their chief, but all in vain.

In the tangled forests and marshes the Indians were found to be no contemptible opponents. They were described as being "so dexterous fierce and nimble that foot can gain no advantage upon them." Their bows and arrows were so effective that coats of mail did not prove a sufficient protection against their force. The arrows were headed, as usual, with stone, or with fish-bones; those which were made of canes or reeds produced the deadliest effect.

A party, under Gallegos, scouring the country a few miles from the camp attacked a small body of Indians, and put them to flight; but, as a horseman was charging with his lance at one of the number, he was amazed to hear him cry out: "Sirs, I am a Christian; do not kill me, nor these poor men, who have given me my life."

Naked, sun-burned, and painted, this man was scarce distinguishable from his wild associates. His name was John Ortiz, and he had lived with the Indians twelve years, being one of the few followers of Narvaez who

escaped destruction. Since the disastrous failure of that expedition he had made his way to Cuba in a small boat, and had returned again to Florida in a small vessel sent in quest of the lost party. The Indians enticed a few of the crew on shore, and made them prisoners. Ortiz was among the number, and was the only one who escaped immediate death. After amusing themselves by various expedients to terrify and torment their captive, the savages, by the command of their chief, Hiriga, bound him to four stakes, and kindled a fire beneath him. He was preserved, even in this extremity, by the compassionate entreaties and persuasions of a daughter of the cacique. His burns having been healed, he was deputed to keep watch over the temple where the bodies of the dead were deposited, to defend them from attacks of wolves. His vigilance and resolution, in dispatching a wolf, panther, or "Lyon," (according to one account) which had seized the body of a child of one of the principal chiefs, aroused a kindly feeling towards him, and he was well used for three years. At the end of that time Hiriga, having been worsted in fight with Moscoso, a hostile chief whose dwelling was at a distance of two days' journey, thought it necessary or expedient to make a sacrifice of his Christian subject to the devil. "Seeing," says our Portuguese historian, "the Devil holds these people in deplorable bondage, they are accustomed to offer to him the life and blood even of their subjects, or of any body else that falls into their hands."

Forewarned of this danger by his former benefactress, Ortiz fled in the night towards the country of Moscoso. Upon first meeting with the subjects of this chief, he was in great danger from the want of an interpreter to explain whence he came, and what was his errand; but, at last, finding an Indian who understood the language of the people with whom he had lived, he quieted the suspicions of his hosts, and remained with them in friendship no less

than nine years. Moscoso, hearing of the arrival of De Soto, generously furnished his captive with an escort, and gave him free permission to return to his countrymen, in accordance with a promise made when Ortiz first came to his territory.

The long-lost Spaniard was joyfully received, with his companions, at De Soto's camp; his services as guide being considered invaluable. In answer to the first inquiry, however, where gold was to be sought, he could give no satisfactory information.

The cacique Moscoso being sent for, soon presented himself at the Spanish encampment, and after spending some days in familiar intercourse with the wonderful strangers, departed, exulting in the possession of a shirt and other tokens of royal munificence.

CHAPTER II.

PROGRESS NORTHWARD—CONTESTS WITH THE NATIVES—VITACHUCO—EXPEDITION TO CUTIFACHIQUI—DEPARTURE FOR THE WEST.

"* * * * The long bare arms
Are heaved aloft, bows twang and arrows stream;
Each makes a tree his shield, and every tree
Sends forth its arrow. Fierce the fight and short
As is the whirlwind."—BRYANT.

DE Soto now concluded to send his vessels back to Cuba, and leaving a strong guard in Hiriga's country, to proceed northward. Favorable accounts were brought by his emissaries from the adjoining district of Paracoxi, and deluding hopes of procuring gold invited to still more distant exploration in Cale. Vasco Porcalho, wearied and disgusted with hopeless and desultory skirmishing among the

swamps and morasses, resigned his commission, and left with the squadron.

The Spanish force, proceeding up the country, passed with great difficulty the extensive morass now known as the Wahoo Swamp, and came to Cale in the southern portion of Alachua. The inhabitants of the town, which was large, and gave tokens of thrift and abundance, had fled into the woods, except a few stragglers who were taken prisoners. The troops fell upon the stored provisions, and ravaged the fields of maize with the eagerness of famished men.

Leaving Cale on the 11th of August, De Soto pressed forward to the populous town of Ochile. Here, without pretence of coming as friends, the soldiers fell upon the inhabitants, and overpowered them by the suddenness of their attack. The country was under the rule of three brothers, one of whom was taken prisoner in the town. The second brother came in afterwards upon the receipt of friendly messages from the Spanish general, but the elder, Vitachuco, gave the sternest and most haughty responses to all embassies proposing conciliatory measures. Appearing, at last, to be convinced by the persuasion of his two brothers, who were sent to him, he consented to a meeting. With a large company of chosen warriors, he proceeded to De Soto's encampment, and, with due formality, entered into a league of friendship. Both armies betook themselves to the principal village of Vitachuco, and royal entertainment was prepared.

The treacherous cacique, notwithstanding these demonstrations, gathered an immense force of his subjects around the town, with a view of surprising and annihilating the Spaniards; but the vigilance of John Ortiz averted the catastrophe.

Preparations were at once made to anticipate the attack; and so successful were they carried out, that the principal

cacique was secured, and his army routed. Many of the fugitives were driven into a lake, where they concealed themselves by covering their heads with the leaves of water-lilies. The lake was surrounded by the Spanish troops, but such was the resolution of the Indians, that they remained the whole night immersed in water, and, on the following day, when the rest had delivered themselves up, "being constrained by the sharpness of the cold that they endured in the water," twelve still held out, resolving to die rather than surrender. Chilled and stupefied by the exposure, these were dragged ashore by some Indians of Paracoxi, belonging to De Soto's party, who swam after them, and seized them by the hair.

Although a prisoner, with his chief warriors reduced to the condition of servants, Vitachuco did not lay aside his daring purposes of revenge. He managed to circulate the order among his men, that on a day appointed, while the Spaniards were at dinner, every Indian should attack the one nearest him with whatever weapon came to hand.

When the time arrived, Vitachuco, who was seated at the general's table, rallying himself for a desperate effort, sprang upon his host, and endeavored to strangle him. "This blade," says the Portuguese narrator, "fell upon the general; but before he could get his two hands to his throat, he gave him such a furious blow with his fist upon the face that he put him all in a gore of blood." De Soto had doubtless perished by the unarmed hands of the muscular and determined chief, had not his attendants rushed to his rescue, and dispatched the assailant.

All the other prisoners followed their cacique's example. Catching at the Spaniards' arms, or the "pounder wherewith they pounded the maes," each "set upon his master therewith, or on the first that fell into his hands. They made use of the lances or swords they met with, as skilfully as if they had been bred to it from their childhood; so

that one of them, with sword in hand, made head against fifteen or twenty men in the open place, until he was killed by the governor's halbardiers." Another desperate warrior, with only a lance, kept possession of the room where the Indian corn was stored, and could not be dislodged. He was shot through an aperture in the roof. The Indians were at last overpowered, and all who had not perished in the struggle, were bound to stakes and put to death. Their executioners were the Indians of Paracoxi, who shot them with arrows.

Napetaca, the scene of this event, was left by the Spaniards in the latter part of September. Forcing their way through the vast swamps and over the deep and miry streams that intercepted their path, and exposed to the attacks of the revengeful proprietors of the soil, they came to the town of Uzachil, somewhere near the present Oscilla river, midway between the Suwanne and Appalachicola. Encumbered with horses, baggage, and armor as they were, their progress is surprising. Uzachil was deserted by the Indians, and the troops revelled in store of provision left by the unfortunate inhabitants.

Marauding parties of the Spaniards succeeded in seizing many prisoners, both men and women, who were chained by the neck, and loaded with baggage, when the army recommenced their march. The poor creatures resorted to every method to effect their escape; some filing their chains in two with flints, and others running away, when an opportunity offered, with the badge of slavery still attached to their necks. Those who failed in the attempt were cruelly punished.

The natives of this north-western portion of Florida evinced no little skill and good management in the construction of their dwellings and in their method of agriculture. The houses were pronounced "almost like the farm-houses of Spain," and some of the towns were quite populous.

Making a halt at Anhayca, the capital town of the district of Palache, De Soto sent a party to view the sea-coast. The men commisioned for this service discovered tokens of the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez at Auto, where the five boats were built. These were a manger hewn from the trunk of a tree, and the bones of the horses who had been killed to supply the means of outfit.

De Soto, about the last of November, sent a detachment back to the bay of Espiritu Santo, with directions for two caravels to repair to Cuba, and the other vessels, which had not already been ordered home, to come round by sea and join him at Palache. Twenty Indian women were sent as a present to the general's wife, Donna Isabella.

In one of the scouting expeditions, during the stay at Palache, a remarkable instance of self-devotion was seen in two Indians, whom the troops came upon as they were gathering beans, with a woman, the wife of one of them, in their company. "Though they might have saved themselves, yet they chose rather to die than to abandon the woman." "They wounded three horses; whereof one died," before the Spaniards succeeded in destroying them.

Early in March, 1540, the Spanish forces were put in motion for an expedition to Yupaha, far to the north-east. Gold was still the object of search. A young Indian, who was made prisoner at Napetaca, alleged that he had come from that country, and that it was of great extent and richness. He said that it was subject to a female cacique, and that the neighboring tribes paid her tribute in gold, "whereupon he described the manner how that gold was dug, how it was melted and refined, as if he had seen it done a hundred times, or as if the Devil had taught him; inasmuch that all who understood the manner of working in the mines, averred that it was impossible for him to speak so exactly of it, without having seen the same."

It would be foreign to our present subject to follow De



EXECUTION OF AN INDIAN CAPTIVE.

Soto in this tour; and, indeed, the position of many of the localities which are described by his historians, and the distances and directions of his wearisome and perilous journeyings, must, at the present day, be matters of conjecture. It may not, however, be amiss to mention briefly the accounts preserved of the appearance of some of the tribes through whose dominions he passed before his return to the north-western districts of modern Florida.

As he moved northward, a marked change was perceived in the buildings. Instead of the grass-covered huts which served well enough in the genial climate of the peninsula, the people of Toalli had "for their roof little canes placed together like Tile; they were very neat. Some had the walls made of poles, so artificially interwoven, that they seemed to be built of Stone and lime." They could be thoroughly warmed in the winter, which was there pretty severe. The dwellings of the caciques were roomy and commodious, and were rendered conspicuous by a balcony over the entrance. Great skill was shown by these people in the manufacture of cloth from grass or fibrous bark, and the deer skins, of which they made leggins and other articles, were admirably well dressed and dyed.

The most remarkable of the countries visited, on this Northern exploration, was Cutifachiqui, supposed to have been situated far up the Chatahoochee, which was governed by a female. The Spaniards were astonished at the dignity and refinement of the queen. Her reception of De Soto reminds one of Cleopatra's first meeting with Anthony, as described by the great dramatist. She was brought down to the water in a palanquin, and there seated in the stern of a canoe, upon cushions and carpets, with a pavilion overhead. She brought presents of mantles and skins to the general, and hung a neck-lace of large pearls about his neck.

EXECUTION OF AN INDIAN CAPTIVE.

The Indians of the country were represented as "tawny, well-shaped, and more polite than any before seen in Florida." Their numbers had been greatly reduced, two years previous, by a pestilence, and many deserted dwellings were to be seen around the town. The accounts given of the quantity of pearls obtained here, by searching the places of sepulture, are incredible.

Departing from Cutifachiqui, De Soto had the ingratitude to carry the queen along with him, compelling her even to go on foot. "In the mean time, that she might deserve a little consideration to be had for her still," she induced the Indians by whose houses the cavalcade passed, to join the party, and lend their aid in carrying the baggage. She succeeded, finally, in making her escape.

We must now dismiss De Soto and his band upon their long journey through the western wilderness. He died upon the Red River, and those of his companions who escaped death from exposure, disease, or savage weapons, years after the events above described, made their way down the Mississippi to the gulf, and thence reached the Spanish provinces of Mexico.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE CONQUEST BY DE SOTO TO THE YEAR 1818—MISSIONARY OPERATIONS BY THE SPANIARDS—MOORE'S INVASION OF FLORIDA—BOWLES—WARS OF 1812—DEFEAT OF THE SEMINOLES BY GENERAL JACKSON.

We can but briefly touch upon the incidents of Florida history for nearly two centuries after De Soto's invasion. The French Huguenot refugees, who settled upon St. John's river in 1562, found the natives placable and

generous. Although their kindness was but ill reciprocated by the colony, no very serious difficulties occurred between the two races. The power and self-confidence of the Indians had been broken, and their numbers greatly reduced by the desolating ravages committed by the Spaniards.

In the brutal and murderous wars between the French and Spanish colonies, which succeeded the new attempts at settlement; the Indians, although they took no conspicuous part, were occasionally involved in hostilities. The most important era in the native history of this period, is that of the establishment of a regular missionary system of instruction.

The central point of these operations was the convent of St. Helena, situated at St. Augustine. Don Pedro Menendez de Avilla, the Spanish governor who founded this town, and who had been commissioned by the king of Spain to spread the Catholic religion among the Indians, was indefatigable in carrying out his sovereign's intentions. The success met with by the ecclesiastics sent forth among the various tribes, is astonishing. In the wilderness of central Florida may still be seen the ruins of buildings erected by their means for religious exercises. Their efforts were not confined to the vicinity of the colonies: emissaries penetrated the western forests, even to the Mississippi; and amid the rough mountain districts of the north, they were to be found living with the Indians, and assiduously instructing them, not only in their religious creed, but in language and useful arts.

The Spanish influence might perhaps have been maintained over the Indians during the existence of the colony, but for the jealous suspicions of Cabrana, who was made governor in 1680. He put to death the principal chief of the Yemasees, or inhabitants of East Florida, upon an accusation of having given aid and comfort to the English

settlers on the St. John's, then called May river. The consequence of this act was a long and troublesome war.

The unfortunate Indians were for many years after this event made the tools of the hostile European colonies: first in the French and Spanish wars, and afterwards, in 1702 and 1704, when governor Moore, of South Carolina, invaded Florida.

In the north-western districts of the peninsula dwelt the Appalachees; the rest of the country was inhabited by the Yemasees. These two nations had formerly been upon terms of the bitterest enmity, but had been reconciled by the mediation of the Spaniards. Moore, followed by a considerable body of English, and a large force of Creek Indians, ravaged nearly the whole country, beginning at Appalachee, and proceeding south-easterly to the Atlantic sea-board. He carried away many Indians of the conquered tribes to the English plantations as slaves.

After a long period of hopeless and profitless warfare, in which they had nothing to gain by success, and by means of which they were disabled from agriculture and deprived of a settled abode, the scattered remnants of the Indian tribes gradually took up their quarters in the heart of the country, and further towards the South. In the latter part of the eighteenth century they acquired the name of Seminoles, said to signify "wanderers."

In the year 1792, an unprincipled adventurer from England, named Bowles, made strenuous attempts to excite the hostility of the Indians against the Spanish settlers. Failing in a direct attempt to plunder an Indian trading-house on the St. John's, and finding himself abandoned by his associates, he betook himself to the Creeks, married a woman of that tribe, and persuaded the Indians that the store of goods which he had attacked belonged rightfully to them. He met with considerable success in deceiving the simple-minded natives, and, assisted by several chiefs

of the Creek nation, ne got possession of the fortress of St. Marks. Delivering himself up to riot and drunkenness, with his followers, it proved no difficult task for the Spanish troops to rētake the fort. Bowles was allowed to escape, but was afterwards delivered up by his Indian allies, and taken to Cuba a prisoner. The Seminoles were partially involved in the wars of 1812 and the two succeeding years, when the Americans invaded Florida. Their chief leaders were King Payne and his brother, the noted Boleck or Bow-legs. Having done no little damage by burning buildings and plundering the plantations in their vicinity, they purposed to march northward, but were engaged and routed nearer home, by General Newman, with a body of troops from Georgia. This force having crossed the St. John's, marched into Alachua, and encountered Payne within a few miles of his head-quarters. The Indians fought bravely, but could not resist the superior skill of the whites. Payne was killed, and his men were driven off in the first engagement, but they rallied, and returned to the attack with redoubled energy. They possessed themselves of the body of their chief; and afterwards surrounding the American forces, kept them in a state of siege for a number of days, imperfectly protected by a structure of logs.

After this period, and previous to the cession of the Floridas to the United States, the affairs of the Seminoles and their American neighbors were unsettled, and some bloody scenes were enacted. Fugitive slaves from the adjoining states found a secure asylum among the immense wilds of the marshy and uninhabited territory of the Floridas, and conflicting claims of Indians and whites respecting negroes long after formed a fertile source of quarrel and complaint. Some of the Seminoles became possessed of large numbers of slaves, holding them by undisputed title.

In the month of March, 1818, General Jackson, with more than three thousand men, over one half of whom were

Creek warriors, marched into West Florida to punish and check the ravages of the Seminoles. With little opposition from the inhabitants, the towns surrounding the lake of Miccosukie were destroyed, and much booty, in corn and cattle, was secured. The Indian villages upon the Oscilla and St. Mark's rivers, known as the Fowel towns, met with a similar fate. St. Marks was soon after occupied by the invaders, and, in the ensuing month, the great body of the Seminoles, aided by large numbers of negroes, was defeated on the borders of the Suwance, and several hundred were taken prisoners. The rest fled into East Florida.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE LATE FLORIDA WAR—TREATY OF MOULTRIE CREEK—TREATY OF PAINE'S LANDING—OSCEOLA—DESTRUCTION OF DADE'S COMMAND—BATTLE OF THE OUITHLACOOCHIE—CONFERENCE WITH INDIAN CHIEFS, BY GENERAL GAINES.

"* * * Hark, that quick, fierce cry,
That rends the utter silence; 'tis the whoop
Of battle, and a throng of savage men,
With naked arms, and faces stained like blood,
Fill the green wilderness. * * *
* * * * Soon the conquerors
And conquered vanish, and the dead remain,
Gashed horribly with tomahawks."—BRYANT.

AFTER the whole country had passed into the hands of the American government, it was thought necessary to take steps to secure the frontiers of the white settlements from the incursions of the Indians, and to confine the latter to certain specified districts. In the year 1823, therefore, on the 18th of September, a treaty was concluded

at the camp on Moultrie Creek, between commissioners from the United States and a number of Seminole chiefs, whereby it was stipulated: that all territory not reserved by the articles should pass to the American government; that the Indians should confine themselves to a large district described by courses and bounds in the heart of the peninsula; that fugitive slaves should be delivered up, the reasonable expenses of securing them being provided for; and that certain sums should be paid by the government to compensate for the expenses and losses of removal, and to establish the Indians comfortably in their new quarters. Various minor particulars were embodied in the treaty, which was signed with mark and seal, on the part of the Seminoles, by the principal chief Micanopy; by Tuske Hajo, Emathlochee, Econchatimico, Tokosemathla (known as Hicks), Charley Amathla, Tustenugge, John Blunt, Mulatto King, Philip, Nea Mathla, and twenty-one others, possessed of or claiming the authority of chiefs.

An exception was made, by an additional article, in favor of six of the signers; who were allowed, in consideration of former services, to remain upon the lands then occupied by them.

Micanopy is described by Williams as a "large fat man, rather obtuse in intellect, but kind to his people and slaves."

The Indians were removed in accordance with the provisions of the agreement, and, until 1835, no serious hostilities took place between them and the whites. Complaints were, indeed, made on both sides of unredressed wrongs and outrages. The Alachuan settlers lost their cattle, and attributed the thefts to the Indians: on the other hand, the Indians complained, with justice, of numberless impositions and deceptions to which they were exposed in their intercourse with unprincipled traders and speculators.

To quiet all disturbance it was at last deemed expedient

by the American government, to effect an entire removal of the Seminoles to the west of the Mississippi. Accordingly, a meeting was appointed by Micanopy and the government emissaries, to be held at Payne's Landing, on the Ocklawaha river, on the eighth of May, 1832. Fifteen chiefs were present, and, after much argument, signed an agreement, in behalf of themselves and their people, to accede to the proposals of government; provided the new lands assigned them should prove acceptable to a deputation from their number who should first go to make examination. The United States were to pay the tribe fifteen thousand four hundred dollars, and the removal was to take place within three years. The authority of the signers of this treaty to bind the whole of the Seminole tribes has been frequently, and with no little reason, called in question. Certain it is, that to a majority of the nation the proposition was highly distasteful.

Several chiefs, with Micanopy's prime counsellor Abraham, an astute negro, undertook the survey of the western reserve, and signed a writing expressive of their satisfaction with its appearance. It was claimed by the Indians, and their partisans, that some deception was used both in the wording of this certificate, and generally as to the conclusiveness of the arrangements entered into at Payne's Landing.

As the end of the term prescribed, within which they must leave their homes, drew near, opposition to removal, and determination to resist it, continued to gain force among the Indians. They complained of the accounts brought them of the belligerent character of the savages who would be their near neighbors, and strenuously objected to a plan, set on foot at Washington, for uniting their tribe with that of their old enemies the Creeks.

Serious disturbances commenced in 1835. Some months previously, whites had been, upon one or two occasions,



OSCEOLA.

fired upon by the Indians, and mutual wrongs, insults, and injuries, had excited general ill-feeling between the two nations. In the month of October, of this year, several Indians were detected in killing a cow near Kenapaha pond, not far from Miccosukie. They were set upon by seven whites, who seized their arms, and commenced beating them with whips. An affray succeeded, in which several were wounded on both sides, and two of the Indians were killed outright. This may be considered to be the commencement of the war: it was the first blood shed, but was soon followed by other outrages. The mail rider, upon his route from Fort Brooke, on Tampa Bay, to Fort King, fell a victim to Indian revenge; his body was found hacked and mutilated.

It now appeared that the Seminoles, determined to maintain their ground, had been, for some time, purchasing and hoarding great stores of arms and ammunition. Their numbers were considerable; they had among them leaders known to be bold, determined, and sagacious; they considered themselves wronged and oppressed; and all these circumstances, combined with their intimate knowledge of the impassable wilderness to which they could at any moment retire, convinced the discerning that a war with them must be fraught with danger and difficulty, and might be indefinitely protracted.

The young chief, Osceola, whose name is more intimately associated than any other with the bloody events that succeeded, now began to attract attention for his acuteness, energy, and determined hostility to the whites. He was a quadroon of the Red Stick (anglicized from the French "Baton Rouge") tribe, of Miccosukie; his mother being a half-breed, and his father supposed to be an Englishman named Powel—a name ordinarily borne by the chief. Osceola had opposed the plan of removal at previous councils, with great vigor, and on one occasion

demeaned himself with such violence that he was seized by General Thompson, the government agent, and kept for a day or two confined in fetters. Dissembling his rage, he, for a time, managed to disarm suspicion; bringing in a great number of his followers, and solemnly ratifying the treaty.

His true purposes and feelings were first known by the part he took in the murder of John Hicks and Charley Amathla, two chiefs who had been prominent in forwarding the treaty of removal. He obtained great ascendancy for himself and followers among the whole nation of the Seminoles; and mainly through his influence, instead of collecting their cattle and stock for appraisal, at the time when they were notified that they must leave the country, the warriors of the tribe secreted their women and children in swamps remote from white settlements, and scoured the country in hostile attitude.

Troops were ordered to Florida from various quarters. Major Dade, arriving at Tampa Bay, with a company of United States' infantry, being reinforced, with two other companies, started, on the 24th of December, to the relief of General Clinch, at Fort King. His force consisted of over one hundred regular troops, supplied with ten days' provision: they took with them a small field-piece. Some delay occurred upon the march, owing to the difficulty of transporting the cannon, and on the 28th they had advanced no farther than a few miles to the northward of the forks of the Ouithlacoochee. Here they were attacked by an unknown multitude of Indians, under the command of Micanopy, and his brother-in-law, the celebrated Jumper, who had avoided signing the treaty of Moultrie Creek. The savages were crouching among the long wire-grass, and protected by the trunks of the pine-trees, when they commenced their fire. The effect was deadly; Major Dade and a great number of

his men were killed at the first discharge. The soldiers continued to fight bravely, sheltering themselves as well as possible behind trees; and, as the Indians rose up, poured in their fire so briskly as to drive the enemy from the field. Every instant was now occupied in forming a slight protection by cutting and piling up the trunks of pines. The Indians, however, soon returned in great force, and, surrounding the little entrenchment, destroyed nearly every man of the company. After they had taken possession of the arms which lay scattered around, the Indians retired, but a body of mounted negroes are said to have come up, and finished the murderous work by knocking out the brains of the wounded. Only four men escaped, being passed over by the negroes and Indians, as they lay wounded and motionless among the dead bodies. One of these was killed on the following day, while endeavoring to make his way back to the fort: the other three, cautiously threading their path through the wilderness, arrived safe at Tampa Bay.

On the same day with the destruction of Dade's command, Osceola revenged himself upon his hated foe, General Wiley Thompson, by whom he had been imprisoned, as before mentioned. A company of nine, among them General Thompson, were dining at the house of a Mr. Rogers, within fifty rods of Fort King, when the house was beset by Indians, and a volley poured in upon the company. Thompson and four others were killed; the rest escaped to the fort.

In the course of the month, various plantations were destroyed in different parts of the country bordering on the Indian reserve, and some skirmishing took place. On the last day of December, General Clinch, who had been stationed at Fort Grane, thirty miles north-west of Fort King, being on his march towards Osceola's headquarters with a considerable force of Florida volunteers

and about two hundred regular troops, encountered the enemy upon the left bank of the Ouithlacoochee.

The Indians, numbering, as was supposed, about six hundred, headed by Osceola, fell upon the first division of the American army that had effected the passage of the river. The stream, contrary to expectation, was in no place fordable, and the only means of crossing was by a single canoe; the horses passed the river by swimming. The Indian commander evinced great bravery and consummate marksmanship, and his men, firing from the cover of a thick growth of underwood, and from behind trees, proved difficult opponents to dislodge. The troops, with one or two slight exceptions, stood firm, and after repeated charges, drove the Indians from the field. In this engagement more than fifty Americans were wounded, and several killed; the loss of the enemy was reported to have been over one hundred.

Additional troops from Louisiana, and forces connected with the marine service, were collected at Tampa Bay; and a large detachment, under General Gaines, marched to Fort King, where they arrived on the 22d of February. Provisions being scarce, and the state of the roads being such that supplies could not be easily procured, Gaines and his force commenced their return to Tampa, by the route formerly taken by Clinch, across the Ouithlacoochee. On the bank of the river, no great distance from the scene of the last battle, the army was, in a manner, surrounded and besieged, for more than a week, by Indians, apparently to the number of from one to two thousand. A galling fire was kept up at every exposed point. Word was sent to Fort Drane, where General Clinch was stationed, for relief, as the provisions of the army were nearly expended.

On the 6th of March, a conference was held between the American officers and three of the principal Indian chiefs—Osceola, Jumper, and Alligator. The camp had

been hailed during the previous night, and a wish for a parley expressed on the part of the savages. The chiefs professed a desire for peace; said they were weary of war, and that, if they could be allowed to retire quietly beyond the Ouithlacoochee, and could remain there unmolested, they would create no further disturbance. They were informed that the general had no authority to conclude any agreement with them, and that their only course was to comply with the requisitions of the government, as forces, which it would be impossible for them to resist, were on their way to enforce submission. The Indian chiefs wished for an opportunity to take counsel with their great King Micanopy, before returning an answer; but General Clinch appearing, with the desired relief, and engaging with a detachment of the Indians, the meeting was broken up. They agreed, however, before retiring, to draw off their warriors to the south bank of the river, and to hold themselves ready to attend further council when notified.

Nothing further was effected, and the combined American forces returned to Fort Drane.

CHAPTER V.

CONDITION OF EAST FLORIDA—GENERAL SCOTT'S CAMPAIGN—GARRISON BESIEGED ON THE OUITHLACOOCHEE—OCCURRENCES DURING THE SUMMER OF 1836—ARRIVAL OF CREEK ALLIES—COLONEL LANES' EXPEDITION FROM TAMPA—BATTLES OF THE WAHOO SWAMP—GENERAL JESSUP APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND IN FLORIDA.

"* * And there are tales of sad reality
In the dark legends of thy border war."
HALLECK.

By this time grievous injury had been done by the Indians to the settlements in East Florida. Philip was the principal leader in the devastations that took place in that region. New Smyrna, at Mosquito Inlet, was destroyed, and the plantations upon Halifax river, to the northward of the town, were ravaged and the settlers driven off. The white inhabitants of the interior were every where obliged either to abandon their homes, or to erect defences and to establish a regular watch.

General Scott having been appointed to the command of the army in Florida during the spring of this year (1836), formed a plan to penetrate the heart of the country, with a large force, from three different quarters simultaneously, and thus surround the Indians, and cut off their retreat. Generals Clinch and Eustice, and Colonel Lindsey were appointed to lead the three divisions. General Clinch's party was attended by General Scott in person. The army was put in motion in the latter part of the month of March.

The service was accomplished, but with little good effect. The Indians, possessing perfect knowledge of the country, instead of opposing the advancing columns in force, hung about the flanks and rear of the army, and kept

up a vexatious skirmishing. No important engagement took place, and the three divisions, after lying for a few days at Tampa, were again put in motion. Separate detachments were ordered to proceed, one to Fort Drane, one to attack the enemy at Pease Creek, to the southward, one to ravage the country in the vicinity of the Ouithlacoochee, and another to march to Volusia.

Little benefit appears to have resulted from the campaign: a careful attention to the plans of Indian warfare laid down, at an earlier age, by Captain Benjamin Church, of New England, or by the redoubtable pioneer of Virginia, Captain John Smith, might have produced effects far more decided.

A small detachment of troops had been left, about the middle of March, to guard a quantity of provision, stored in a rude building fifteen miles up the Ouithlacoochee. Not having been heard from for many weeks after, they were supposed to have been cut off by the Indians, and no attempt was made to relieve them until towards the latter part of May, when three of the garrison managed to escape the vigilance of their besiegers, and to convey intelligence of their condition to Tallahassee. The small party had been defending their post gallantly for more than two months against hosts of the enemy; their block house had been partially destroyed over their heads, so that they were exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and their provision consisted entirely of corn. A steamer was sent to the river's mouth, and the company was brought down to it in a barge.

As the season advanced, the enervating influence of the climate produced its natural effect upon the troops. The fevers of the country attacked those who were not acclimated, and the rest were but poorly conditioned for an arduous campaign. Active operations for the most part ceased; the volunteers were discharged, and the regular

soldiers distributed among the different forts extending from St. Augustine across the country to the Suwanne. The Indians were free to roam where they listed through the immense wilderness to the southward, and to lay plans of secret attack upon every exposed settlement or plantation.

About the end of April, a terrible massacre took place at Charlotte Harbor; and in May and June, the country between the St. Johns and the Atlantic, nearly as far north as St. Augustine, was generally ravaged by the Indians. Their attacks extended to the vicinity of Mandarin, only sixteen or eighteen miles south of Jacksonville. A Mr. Motte, residing at that place, was murdered, and his establishment was destroyed.

Early in June, the Indians, emboldened by success in the destruction of plantations, and the expulsion of the whites from such extensive districts, beset the fort at Micanopy, which was garrisoned by a company under the command of Major Heillman, then at the head of the army west of St. John's river. They were driven off, but not without some loss on the part of the whites.

In July, Fort Drane had become so unhealthy that it was thought necessary to abandon it. As the troops were on their march upon the evacuation of the place, they had a sharp brush with some hundreds of Indians who lay in wait for them near Welika Pond, in the vicinity of Micanopy. Towards the close of the month the light-house at Cape Florida was destroyed. The keeper, named Thompson, was singularly preserved by clinging to the top of the stone wall of the building, while the wood-work was burned out from within. After the Indians had, by their own act, cut off the means of access to the summit, they descried the unfortunate man, half dead with the heat and smoke, and shot at him a long time without effect. He was able to crouch in such a manner upon the top of the wall as to elude their aim, until they took their departure.

It would be impracticable, in a sketch of this kind, to give full particulars of the skirmishing, plundering, and murders which were to be heard of on every side during the summer of 1836. About the middle of August, it was ascertained that Osceola and a large company of his followers were staying in the vicinity of the abandoned Fort Drane, for the sake of securing the corn growing upon the neighboring plantations. They were attacked and defeated by Major Pierce.

In September a marauding party of Indians made their way to within seven miles of Jacksonville, where they attacked the house of Mr. Higginbotham. There were only two men in the house, but, having a number of guns, and receiving resolute assistance from the women of the family, they successfully resisted the assault. After the Indians had retired, Higginbotham hastened with all speed to Jacksonville, and procured a party of twelve men, under Major Hart, to pursue them. Taking the Indian trail, the company followed it to the house of Mr. Johns, ten miles distant from the scene of the attack. The building had been reduced to ashes, and the half-burned body of its proprietor lay among the ruins. Mrs. Johns had been scalped, and left to perish. Before their departure, one of the savages set fire to her clothes, but she managed to extinguish the flame, and to creep away from the burning building. In this miserable condition she was discovered, lying by the border of the swamp, and kindly cared for.

The perpetrators of this outrage, having secured good horses, effected their escape.

Before the end of this month, additional forces from Tennessee were brought into Florida, and a body of nearly a thousand Creeks, led by the Chiefs Paddy Carr and Jim Boy, came to lend their aid against the Indians of the peninsula. An army of from one to two thousand men, including the Tennessee brigade, under Governor Call, marched,

in the beginning of October, to the deserted Fort Drane, but found that the Indians had recently left their quarters in that neighborhood. The trail of the fugitives was followed towards the Ouithlacoochee, but the pursuit of savages, in their own country, especially in such a country as Florida, by regular troops, encumbered with baggage, and ignorant of the fastnesses of the enemy, proved as futile in that instance as upon former and subsequent occasions. Little was accomplished against the enemy, who were enabled, at any time, to retreat beyond the reach of their pursuers, and only showed themselves where they could attack the whites at a disadvantage. Under existing circumstances, the main force was obliged to return to Fort Drane, not without the loss of a great number of their horses from hard service upon indifferent food.

Colonel Lane, with a strong force of Creek Indians and regular troops, made an excursion into the enemy's country from Tampa Bay, during the early part of this month. Near the Ocklikany Lake, called the Spotted Lake, from the great number of small wooded islands which cover its surface, about sixty miles from Tampa, an Indian trail was struck. The party followed this track to the southward, and came successively upon several considerable Indian villages deserted by the inhabitants. Large corn fields were seen in the vicinity of these settlements, and some hundreds of cattle were secured by the Creek Indians of the company. At one advantageous post, where the thick underwood on the borders of a small lake offered protection to an ambush, the Seminoles attempted, unsuccessfully, to resist the invaders. They were driven out into the open country and dispersed. Lane and his detachment joined General Call at Fort Drane on the 19th. He survived this service but a few days, being found in his tent, nearly dead, with the point of his sword thrust into the brain over his eye: there was little doubt among those

conversant with the circumstances of his death, but that it occurred accidentally.

The combined army, of more than two thousand men, marched to the Ouithlacoochee in November. This region, which had been a favorite resort of the Seminoles throughout the war, was now found entirely abandoned, and trails were discovered trending towards the great Wahoo Swamp. That the main body of the enemy had moved in that direction, was also affirmed by an old negro, found at an abandoned village on the river. Taking up the pursuit, a portion of the American forces followed the trail, and had a sharp engagement with the Indians on the border of the swamp. There was, however, abundant space for the fugitives to retreat into, where the whites were unable to follow them, and no heavy loss occurred on either side.

Another battle took place on the 21st, in which the Seminoles displayed more resolution, and stood the charge of the regular troops with greater firmness, than had ever before been observed in them. The dangers of the extensive morass to which they retreated proved more insurmountable than those attendant upon the contest with the savages themselves.

Provisions being nearly exhausted, and it being impossible to procure supplies in such a wilderness, the army proceeded to Volusia, between Lake George and Dexter's Lake. There it was joined by General Jessup, who had been appointed to the chief command in Florida, with four hundred mounted volunteers from Alabama.

CHAPTER VI.

PURSUIT OF THE SEMINOLES SOUTHWARD—ENCOUNTER ON THE HATCHEE LUSTEE—CONFERENCE AND TRUCE WITH THE INDIANS—RENEWAL OF THE TREATY OF PAYNE'S LANDING—NEGLECT ON THE PART OF THE INDIANS TO COMPLY WITH ITS PROVISIONS—CAPTURE, SURRENDER, AND TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF VARIOUS CHIEFS—DEATH OF OSCEOLA—COLONEL TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGN.

We have already given more space to the details of the Florida campaign, than such ill-advised, ill-conducted, and trivial operations deserve. We would be the last to endeavor to detract from the deserved laurels of many of the brave men who were engaged in them, while we can but lament that their lives should have been sacrificed; less by the weapons of the savages than by the diseases of the country; that the public money should have been squandered; and the whole peninsula so long kept in a state of agitation and suspense, when pacific measures might have kept matters comparatively at rest.

Before the first of January, General Jessup, marching with his troops from Volusia, with the cöoperation of Colonel Foster, dispatched from Tampa, ranged the whole country on the Ouithlacoochee and other haunts of the Seminoles, and examined the deep recesses of the Wahoo morass, without finding an enemy. The Indian trails which were observed, all led to the unexplored wilderness of the south. Thither he started in pursuit of the fugitive Seminoles, on the 22d of January (1837). On the succeeding day, a detachment, under Colonel Cawfield, surprised Osuchee or Cooper, a Seminole chief, then encamped at Ahapopka Lake, from which flows the Ocklawaha. The chief and

several of his warriors were killed, and a number of prisoners were taken.

The main army, still following the course of the Indian track, now came to the high ridge of sandy hills lying directly south of Lake Ahapopka. The second day after passing these hills, cattle of the Indians were seen, and shortly after a scouting party, under Colonel Henderson, discovered the enemy upon the borders of the stream of Hatchee Lustee. The troops instantly charged, and drove them into the swamp, taking twenty or thirty prisoners, mostly women and children.

On the same day another large body of Indians was discovered a little farther to the westward, who fled precipitately upon the approach of troops. One of the Seminoles was found watching by his sick wife, who had been left as unable to travel. This Indian was sent the next morning (January 28th) to invite the Seminole chiefs to a conference. The army was marched to the border of Tohopekaliga Lake, (into which empties the Hatchee Lustee Creek,) and encamped between its waters and the Big Cypress swamp, to await the return of the messenger. He made his appearance on the following day, bringing intelligence from the hostile chiefs, who agreed to have a parley. The first who presented himself, on the part of the Seminoles, was Abraham, Micanopy's negro counsellor. Having held a consultation with General Jessup, he returned to his people; but three days after, February 3d, escorted Jumper, Alligator, and two other chiefs to the camp. It was concluded that a grand talk should be held, and a new treaty entered into on the 18th of the month, at Fort Dade, on the Big Ouithlacoochee. To that establishment the army immediately repaired, as it was agreed that hostilities should be suspended until after the council.

On the 8th of the month, several hundred Indians, led by Philip, the chief who had long been the terror of the

eastern portion of the peninsula, attacked Colonel Fanning, then in the occupation of a station on Lake Monroe, with a mixed garrison of regulars, volunteers and Creeks. The Creek chief Paddy Carr was of the company. The assailants were driven off with loss, and, in their retreat, met a messenger sent by Micanopy to convey intelligence of the truce.

Some delays occurred in bringing about the conference assigned for the 18th, but at last most of the principal Seminole chiefs signed a treaty similar to that of Payne's Landing, whereby they agreed to remove west of the Mississippi. The United States' government was to make remuneration for the stock which must necessarily be left behind, and to pay stipulated annuities as before agreed. There can be but little doubt that, even on this occasion, the Indians had no real intention of complying with the requisitions of government. Few came in on the days appointed, and rumors were circulated among them—whether actually believed, or only used as an excuse for absenting themselves, does not appear—that the whites intended to destroy the whole tribe as soon as they should be secured on board the government vessels.

Osceola and Coe Hajo, still pretending that their endeavor was to collect their people for transportation, held a great festival or game at ball near Fort Mellon, upon Lake Monroe, at the eastern part of the peninsula. They doubtless chose this place for gathering their followers, as being at a safe distance from the point of embarkation on Tampa Bay. On the 2d of June, Osceola took two hundred of his warriors to Tampa Bay, and, either by force or persuasion, induced the old king Micanopy, and all the other Indians who had rendezvoused there in pursuance of the treaty, to move off again to the wilderness.

Hearing of this, the commandant at Fort Mellon, Colonel Harney, made up his mind to entrap such of

the chiefs as were in his vicinity, under pretence of a conference; and retaliate upon the Seminoles for their breach of faith at Tampa, by seizing those who should appear. Osceola got wind of the design, and it consequently proved futile.

Fort Mellon and Volusia were abandoned during this month; the sickness attendant upon the season having commenced its ravages among the troops; and the Indians were left free to roam over that whole portion of the country, while the settlers whose dwellings were exposed to their assaults, were forced to fly to places of protection.

The last of the month, Captain Walton, keeper of the floating light on Carysford reef, was killed, together with one of his assistants, at Key Largos, the most considerable of the Florida Keys. He had a garden at this island, and had just landed, coming from the light, when he and his party were fired upon. The whole south-eastern sea-coast was then in undisturbed possession of the hostile Indians.

In September, General Hernandez, stationed at Fort Peyton, a few miles from St. Augustine, made an expedition to the southward, and captured the dreaded Philip, Uchee Billy, and nearly one hundred other Indians and negroes. Philip's son coming with a flag of truce to St. Augustine, was taken prisoner, and retained in captivity.

Other chiefs and warriors—among them Tustenugge—delivered themselves up at Black Creek, and several captures were made at other points; but the most important transaction of this autumn—whether justifiable or not—was the seizure of Osceola, Alligator, and six other of the leading Seminoles. They had come into the neighborhood of Fort Peyton, and sent word to General Jessup that they desired a parley.

General Hernandez was deputed to hold the conference, but the talk of the Indians being pronounced "evasive

and unsatisfactory," the commander-in-chief dispatched a force to capture the whole body; these chiefs accordingly, with over sixty followers, fell into the hands of their enemies. The excuse given for this act was that the treachery of the Indians upon former occasions had deprived them of all claims to good faith on the part of the whites. Osceola was removed to Charleston, and died in confinement on the 30th of January, 1838. If he had survived, he was to have been taken, with other Seminoles, to the west of the Mississippi.

In the same month various other captures were made, until the Indians in bondage at St. Augustine numbered nearly one hundred and fifty. The United States forces, consisting of regulars, volunteers, seamen, and Indian allies, distributed among the various posts in Florida at this time, are set down at little short of nine thousand men!

Sam Jones, or Abiaca, was, after the capture of Osceola, one of the most forward of the Seminole chiefs. He appears to have been spokesman at a conference held, not far from this time, between his tribe and deputies from the Creek nation, bearing proposals and advice from their celebrated chief John Ross.

We must next proceed to the campaign of Colonel Zachary Taylor, the hero of many battles, and afterwards the distinguished President of the United States He left Fort Gardner, a station sixty miles due east from Fort Brooke, on Tampa Bay, with some six hundred troops, to follow the enemy into their hidden retreats at the south. Pursuing the course of the Kissimee, the army had advanced within fifteen miles of the great lake Okeechobee, on the northern borders of the unexplored everglades, when intelligence was obtained from a prisoner, that the Seminoles were encamped in force on the eastern shore of the Kissimee lake. With a portion of his army, Colonel Taylor crossed the river, and hastened to attack the In-

dians in the hammock where they were posted. Never before had the Indian rifles done more deadly execution, and never had their warriors evinced more determined courage. They were, with great difficulty, dislodged and dispersed: the number of killed and wounded on the part of the whites considerably exceeded that of the Indians, no less than one hundred and eleven of Col. Taylor's men being wounded, and twenty-eight killed.

CHAPTER VII.

VARIOUS MINOR ENGAGEMENTS—SURRENDER OF LARGE NUMBERS OF INDIANS—CONTINUANCE OF DEPREDATIONS—BLOOD-HOUNDS FROM CUBA—ATTACK UPON A COMPANY OF ACTORS—SEMINOLE CHIEFS BROUGHT BACK FROM THE WEST TO REPORT THEIR CONDITION TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN—COL. HARNEY'S EXPEDITION TO THE EVERGLADES—END OF THE WAR—INDIANS SHIPPED WEST—NUMBERS STILL REMAINING IN FLORIDA.

DURING December (1837), several encounters of minor importance took place in different parts of the country. Many prisoners were taken in the district between Fort Mellon and Lake Poinsett, near the head waters of the St. John's, and a small skirmish occurred as far north as the Suwanne. There was a more severely-contested action near Fort Fanning, on this river, early in January (1838), in which the whites met with some loss, but succeeded in taking a number of prisoners.

On the eastern sea-coast, not far from Jupiter Inlet, a company under Lieutenant Powell was worsted in an engagement, and retreated with loss. The Indians had been driven into a swamp on Lochahatchee Creek, where they

made a spirited resistance until their pursuers found it necessary to retreat.

General Jessup attacked and broke up this encampment of the Indians, towards the end of January. He was himself wounded in the action. Toskegee was the chief who commanded the Seminoles in both these battles.

The General was now anxious to conclude a treaty with the Indians, by which they should be allowed to remain in their own country, confining themselves to specified districts, but the government refused assent to any such proposition. He nevertheless proceeded to bring about parleys with his savage opponents, as it was evident that desultory hostilities might be indefinitely protracted.

The Seminoles, miserably reduced by the troubled life they had led so long, and weary of profitless warfare, hardship and exposure, were induced to surrender in large numbers. They apparently expected to be allowed to remain in the country, as they were assured by the officers with whom they treated, that every endeavor would be made to procure that permission from the government.

When General Jessup left Florida, in April, 1838, leaving General Taylor in command, more than two thousand of the dangerous tribe were in the power of the whites. Part of these had been captured, but the larger portion had delivered themselves up upon fair promises.

Philip and Jumper both died on their route to the west, the former on board the vessel in which he was embarked, and the latter at New Orleans.

The hopes entertained, after these events, that the war was substantially at an end, proved fallacious. Murders were committed during the summer and fall, by prowling parties of Indians in widely-distant parts of the country. On the Ocklikoni and Oscilla rivers in West Florida, small establishments suffered from the depredations of the savages; and their hostile feeling was manifest whenever

a vessel was in distress upon the dangerous eastern and southern coast.

This desultory warfare, marked by many painful and horrible details of private suffering and disaster, continued until the spring of 1839. No conference could be obtained with the leading chiefs, and Indians were every where lurking in small bands ready to fire upon the solitary traveller, or to rush at an unguarded hour upon an isolated plantation.

General Macomb, who had command of the army during April and May, succeeded in bringing about a parley with some of the Seminoles, in which it was agreed that the tribe should stay peaceably in Florida until intelligence could be brought of the safe arrival and prosperous condition of the captives already shipped westward. The Tallahassee chief Tigertail, and Abiaca, having had no concern with this treaty, refused to abide by it, and bloody skirmishes and assassinations continued to be heard from on every side.

The government of Florida now offered a bounty of two hundred dollars for each Indian secured or killed. We cannot even enumerate one half the petty engagements and sanguinary transactions of the ensuing winter and spring. In March, 1840, bloodhounds were brought into Florida from Cuba, to aid in tracking and ferreting out the savages from their lurking places. General Taylor had been authorized, during the preceding autumn, to procure this novel addition to the efficient force of the army, and natives of the island were also secured to train and manage the dogs. There was a great outcry raised, and perhaps justly, at this barbarous plan of warfare, but little seems to have resulted from the operation except the furnishing a valuable breed of the animal for future domestic use, and the supplying of excellent subject matter for the caricaturists, who made the war a theme for ridicule.

Before the 1st of June, many more families were massacred, and several bloody engagements occurred between comparatively small companies of whites and Indians. Near the close of May, a ludicrous though tragical incident took place on the road between Picolata and St. Augustine.

A company of play-actors, *en route* for the latter town, were set upon by the noted chief Wild Cat, with a large body of Indians. Four were killed, and the "property" of the establishment fell into the hands of the savages. Nothing could have delighted them more than an acquisition so congenial to their tastes. The tawdry red velvet, spangles, and sashes, which every where obtain as the appropriate costume of the stage, were now put to a new use, and served as royal appendages to the dusky forms of the Seminole warriors. Decked in this finery, they made their exultant appearance before Fort Searle, challenging the little garrison to an engagement.

The month of August was marked by scenes of terrible interest. On the Suwanne, eleven families were driven from their homes, and many of their members murdered: the settlement on Indian Key was almost totally destroyed, six persons being massacred. Nothing was accomplished in any way tending to bring the war to an end, or to mitigate its horrors, until autumn.

It was resolved, at last, to try fair measures, since foul proved of so little avail, and a number of the principal Seminoles who had experienced the realities of a western life, among whom were old Micanopy and Alligator, were brought back to Florida, for the purpose of pointing out to their brethren the advantages of their new homes, and inducing peaceable compliance with the intended removal. A meeting was obtained at Fort King, early in November, with Tigertail and other Seminole chiefs, but after a few days of profitless parley, the whole of the hostile party

disappeared, and with them all prospect of an amicable settlement of difficulties.

The Indians continued their depredations, murdering and plundering with greater boldness than ever. In December, Colonel Harney attacked the enemy in quarters, which they had till then occupied in undisturbed security, viz: the islands and dry spots of that waste of "grass-water," as the natives term it, the Everglades. He had obtained a negro guide, who knew of the haunts of the chief Chaikika and his people, and, taking a considerable company in boats, he proceeded to beat up his quarters. The party came upon the Indians most unexpectedly: Chaikika was shot by a private after he had thrown down his arms, and his men, with their families, were surrounded and taken before they had time to escape. Nine of the men were hanged! on the ground that they were concerned in the Indian Key massacre; some of the property plundered on that occasion being found in the camp.

The only other important event of the month was the surrender of a son and a brother of the old and implacable chieftain Tigertail. They delivered themselves up at Fort King. In Middle Florida, travelling continued as unsafe as ever, unless in well-armed companies, of force sufficient to keep the lurking savages in awe.

We have now chronicled the principal events of this tedious, harassing, and most expensive war. Hostilities did not, indeed, cease at the period under our present consideration, but a knowledge of the true policy to be pursued towards these ignorant and truly unfortunate savages began to be generally diffused, and more conciliatory measures were adopted.

John C. Spencer, Secretary of War, in November, 1842, reported that, during the current year, four hundred and fifty Indians had been sent west of the Mississippi from Florida, and that two hundred more were supposed to have

surrendered. This report proceeds: "The number of troops has been gradually diminished, leaving an adequate number to protect the inhabitants from the miserable remnants of tribes, still remaining. We have advices that arrangements have been made with all but a very few of those Indians for their removal west of the Mississippi, or to the district in the southern part of the peninsula assigned them for their habitation; and it is believed that, by this time, all the bands north of that district, have agreed to cease hostilities and remove there. Two or three instances of outrages have occurred since the orders were issued for the termination of hostilities, but they are ascertained to have been committed by bands who were ignorant of the measures adopted, or of the terms offered."

Some difficulty arose from the extreme dislike which the Seminoles who were moved westward entertained of being located upon the same district with the Creeks, and a deputation from their body of a number of warriors, including Alligator and Wild Cat, repaired to the seat of government for redress. Measures were taken to satisfy them.

The Indians who still keep possession of a district in Southern Florida, consisting of Seminoles, Micasaukies, Creeks, Uchees and Choctaws, are variously estimated as numbering from three hundred and fifty to five hundred, including women and children. Seventy-six were shipped to the west in 1850.

As a tribe, they have long been at peace with their white neighbors, although some individuals of these people have, and at no distant date, given proof that the spirit of the savage is not yet totally extinct.

THE INDIANS OF VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF AMIDAS AND BARLOW—OF SIR RICHARD GRENVILLE —OF BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLL, WITH CAPTAIN SMITH—SETTLEMENT AT JAMESTOWN—VISIT TO POWHATAN—IMPROVIDENCE AND DIFFICULTIES OF THE COLONISTS—EXPLORATION OF THE CHICKAHOMINY—SMITH TAKEN PRISONER—HIS TREATMENT BY THE INDIANS.

"He lived, the impersonation of an age
That never shall return. His soul of fire
Was kindled by the breath of the rude times
He lived in."—BRYANT.

THE most complete and veracious account of the manners, appearance, and history of the aboriginal inhabitants of Virginia, particularly those who dwelt in the eastern portion of that district, upon the rivers and the shores of Chesapeake Bay, is contained in the narrative of the redoubted Captain John Smith. This bold and energetic pioneer, after many "strange ventures, happ'd by land or sea;" still a young man, though a veteran in military service; and inured to danger and hardship, in battle and captivity among the Turks, joined his fortunes to those of Bartholomew Gosnoll and his party, who sailed from England on the 19th of December, 1606, (O. S.) to form a settlement on the Western Continent.

Former attempts to establish colonies in Virginia had terminated disastrously, from the gross incompetence, ex-

travagant expectations, improvidence, and villanous conduct of those engaged in them.

In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates, under a patent from Queen Elizabeth, had sent out two small vessels, commanded by Amidas and Barlow. By the circuitous route then usually adopted, the exploring party passed the West Indies, coasted along the fragrant shores of Florida, and entered Ocrakoke Inlet in the month of July, enraptured with the rich and fruitful appearance of the country. Grapes grew to the very borders of the sea, overspreading the bushes and climbing to the tops of trees in luxurious abundance.

Their intercourse with the natives was friendly and peaceful; as they reported, "a more kind, loving people could not be." They carried on trade and barter with Granganimeo, brother to Winginia, king of the country, and were royally entertained by his wife at the island of Roanoke.

Wingandacoa was the Indian name of the country, and, on the return of the expedition, in the ensuing September, it was called Virginia, in honor of the queen.

Sir Richard Grenville, an associate of Raleigh, visited Virginia the next year (1585), and left over one hundred men to form a settlement at Roanoke. Being disappointed in their anticipations of profit, or unwilling to endure the privations attendant upon the settlement of a habitation in the wilderness, all returned within a year. A most unjustifiable outrage was committed by the English of this party, on one of their exploring expeditions. In the words of the old narrative, "At Aquascogoc the Indians stole a silver cup, wherefore we *burnt the Towne and spoyled their corne;* so returned to our fleete at Tocokon." This act is but a fair specimen of the manner in which redress has been sought for injuries sustained at the hands of the natives, not only in early times, but too often at the present day.



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

It is not surprising that thereafter the Indians should have assumed a hostile attitude. Granganimeo was dead, and Winginia, who had now taken the name of Pemissapan, formed a plan to cut off these disorderly invaders of his dominions. This resulted only in some desultory skirmishing; and, a few days afterwards, the fleet of Sir Francis Drake appearing in the offing, the whole colony concluded to return to England.

Mr. Thomas Heriot, whose journal of this voyage and settlement is preserved, gives a brief account of the superstitions, customs, and manner of living which he observed among the savages. In enumerating the animals which were used for food by the Indians, he mentions that "the salvages sometimes killed a Lyon and eat him" He concludes his narrative by very justly remarking, that some of the company "shewed themselves too furious in slaying some of the people in some Townes vpon causes that on our part might have bin borne with more mildnesse."

Grenville, in the following year, knowing nothing of the desertion of the settlement, took three ships over to America, well furnished for the support and relief of those whom he had left on the preceding voyage. Finding the place abandoned, he left fifty settlers to rēoccupy it, and returned home. On the next arrival from England the village was again found deserted, the fort dismantled, and the plantations overgrown with weeds. The bones of one man were seen, but no other trace appeared to tell the fate of the colony. It afterwards appeared, from the narrations of the savages, that three hundred men from Aquascogoc and other Indian towns had made a descent upon the whites, and massacred the whole number.

The experiment of colonization was again tried, and again failed: of over one hundred persons, including some females, who landed, none were to be found by those who went in search of them in 1589, nor was their fate ever

ascertained. It is recorded that, before the departure of the ships that brought over this colony, on the 18th of August (O. S.), the governor's daughter, Ellinor Dare, gave birth to an infant, which was named Virginia, and was the first white child born in the country.

We now return to Gosnoll and his companions, numbering a little over one hundred, who, as we before mentioned, visited the country in 1606. They sailed from England with sealed orders, which were not to be opened until their arrival in America. Landing on Cape Henry, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, the hostile feelings of the Indians were soon made manifest; "thirtie of the company recreating themselves on shore were assaulted by fiue Salvages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously." The box containing the orders from the authorities in England being opened, Smith was found to be one of the number appointed as a council to govern the colony; but he was, at that time, in close custody, in consequence of sundry absurd and jealous suspicions which had been excited against him on the voyage, and he was therefore refused all share in the direction of the public affairs. Before the return of the ships, however, which took place in June, the weak and ill-assorted colony were glad to avail themselves of the services and counsel of the bold and persevering captain. His enemies were disgraced, and his authority was formally acknowledged. Meantime, the settlement was commenced at Jamestown, forty miles up the Powhatan, now James' river. The Indians appeared friendly, and all hands fell to work at the innumerable occupations which their situation required. A few ruins, and the picturesque remains of the old brick church-tower still standing, utterly deserted amid the growth of shrubs and willows, are all that remains of the intended city.

Newport and Smith, with a company of twenty men, were sent to explore the upper portion of the river, and

made their way to the town of Powhatan, situated upon a bluff just below the falls, and at the head of navigation—the same spot afterwards chosen for the site of the capitol of the state. The natives were peaceable and kind to the adventurers, receiving them with every demonstration of interest and pleasure, and rejoiced at the opportunity for traffic in beads and ornaments. As they approached Jamestown, on their return, they perceived some hostile demonstrations; and arriving there, found that seventeen men had been wounded, and that one boy had been killed by the Indians during their absence.

Wingfield, the president of the colony, had injudiciously neglected to make any secure fortifications, and the people, leaving their arms stored apart, set to work without a guard; thus giving to the lurking foe convenient opportunity for an assault.

After Captain Newport had sailed for England, the colonists, left to their own resources, were reduced to great straits and privation. Most of them were men utterly unfitted for the situation they had chosen, and unable to endure labor and hardship. Feeding upon damaged wheat, with such fish and crabs as they could catch; worn out by unaccustomed toil; unused to the climate, and ignorant of its diseases; it is matter of little wonder that fifty of the company died before the month of October.

Smith, to whom all now looked for advice, and who was virtually at the head of affairs, undertook an expedition down the river for purposes of trade. Finding that the natives "scorned him as a famished man," derisively offering a morsel of food as the price of his arms, he adopted a very common expedient of the time, using force where courtesy availed not. After a harmless discharge of muskets, he landed and marched up to a village where much corn was stored. He would not allow his men to plunder, but awaited the expected attack of the

natives. A party of sixty or seventy presently appeared, "with a most hideous noise—some black, some red, some white, some parti-colored, they came in a square order, singing and dauncing out of the woods, with their Okee (which was an Idoll made of skinnes stuffed with mosse, all painted and hung with chaines and copper,) borne before them." A discharge of pistol-shot from the guns scattered them, and they fled, leaving their Okee. Being now ready to treat, their image was restored, and beads, copper and hatchets were given by Smith to their full satisfaction, in return for provisions.

The improvident colonists, by waste and inactivity, counteracted the efforts of Smith: and Wingfield, the former president, with a number of others, formed a plan to seize the pinnace and return to England. This conspiracy was not checked without some violence and bloodshed. As the weather grew colder with the change of season, game became fat and plenty, and the Indians on Chickahamania river were found eager to trade their corn for English articles of use or ornament; so that affairs began to look more prosperous.

During the ensuing winter, Smith, with a barge and boat's crew, undertook an exploration of the sources of the Chickahamania, (Chickahominy,) which empties into James' river, a few miles above Jamestown. After making his way for about fifty miles up the stream, his progress was so impeded by fallen trees and the narrowness of the channel, that he left the boat and crew in a sort of bay, and proceeded in a canoe, accompanied only by two Englishmen, and two Indian guides. The men left in charge of the boat, disregarding his orders to stay on board till his return, were set upon by a great body of the natives, and one of their number, George Cassen, was taken prisoner. Having compelled their captive to disclose the intentions and position of the captain, these savages pro-

ceeded to put him to death in a most barbarous manner, severing his limbs at the joints with shells, and burning them before his face. As they dared not attack the armed company in the boat, all hands then set out in hot pursuit of Smith, led by Opechancanough, king of Pamaunkee.

Coming upon the little party among the marshes, far up the river, they shot the two Englishmen as they were sleeping by the canoe; and, to the number of over two hundred, surrounded the gallant captain, who, accompanied by one of his guides, was out with his gun in search of game. Binding the Indian fast to his arm, with a garter, as a protection from the shafts of the enemy, Smith made such good use of his gun that he killed three of his assailants and wounded several others. The whole body stood at some distance, stricken with terror at the unwonted execution of his weapon, while he slowly retired towards the canoe. Unfortunately, attempting to cross a creek with a miry bottom, he stuck fast, together with his guide, and, becoming benumbed with cold, for the season was unusually severe, he threw away his arms, and surrendered himself prisoner.

Delighted with their acquisition, the savages took him to the fire, and restored animation to his limbs by warmth and friction. He immediately set himself to conciliate the king, and presenting him with an ivory pocket compass, proceeded to explain its use, together with many other scientific matters, greatly beyond the comprehension of the wild creatures who gathered around him in eager and astonished admiration. Perhaps with a view of trying his courage, they presently bound him to a tree, and all made ready to let fly their arrows at him, but were stayed by a sign from the chief. They then carried him to Orapaks, where he was well fed, and treated with kindness.

When they reached the town, a strange savage dance was performed around Opechancanough and his captive,

by the whole body of warriors, armed and painted; while the women and children looked on with wonder and curiosity. The gaudy color of the oil and pocones with which their bodies were covered, "made an exceeding handsome show," and each had "his bow in his hand, and the skinne of a bird with her wings abroad, dryed, tyed on his head, a peece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tayles of their snakes tyed to it, or some such like toy."

Although the Indians would not, as yet, eat with their prisoner, he was so feasted that a suspicion arose in his mind that they "would fat him to eat him. Yet, in this desperate estate, to defend him from the cold, one Mocassater, brought him his gowne, in requitall of some beades and toyes Smith had given him at his first arrival in Virginia." One of the old warriors, whose son had been wounded at the time of the capture, was with difficulty restrained from killing him. The young Indian was at his last gasp, but Smith, wishing to send information to Jamestown, said that he had there a medicine of potent effect. The messengers sent on this errand made their way to Jamestown, "in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow," carrying a note from Smith, written upon "part of a Table booke." They returned, bringing with them the articles requested in the letter, "to the wonder of all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speake."

A plan was at that time on foot to make an attack upon the colony, and such rewards as were in their power to bestow—"life, liberty, land and women"—were proffered to Smith by the Indians, if he would lend his assistance.

They now made a triumphal progress with their illustrious captive, among the tribes on the Rappahanock and Potomac rivers, and elsewhere; exhibiting him to the Youthtanunds, the Mattapamients, the Payankatanks, the

Nantaughtacunds, and Onawmanients. Returning to Pamaunkee, a solemn incantation was performed, with a view to ascertain his real feelings towards them.

Having seated him upon a mat before a fire, in one of the larger cabins, all retired, "and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal mingled with oyle; and many Snakes and Wesels skins stuffed with mosse, and all their tayles tied together, so as they met on the crowne of his head in a tassell; and round about the tassell was a coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, backe and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand." He sprinkled a circle of meal about the fire, and commenced his conjuration. Six more "such like devils," then entered, fantastically bedaubed with red "Mutchatos" (Mustaches) marked upon their faces, and having danced about him for a time, sat down and sang a wild song to the accompaniment of their rattles.

The chief conjuror next laid down five kernels of corn, and proceeded to make an extravagant oration with such violence of gesture that his veins swelled and the perspiration started from his body. "At the conclusion they all gave a short groane, and then laid down three grains more." The operation was continued "till they had twice incirculed the fire," and was then varied by using sticks instead of corn. All these performances had some mystic signification, which was in part explained to the captain.

Three days were spent in these wearisome barbarities, each day being passed in fasting, and the nights being as regularly ushered in with feasts. Smith was, after this, entertained with the best of cheer at the house of Opitchapam, brother to the king. He still observed that not one of the men would eat with him, but the remains of the feast were given him to be distributed among the women and children.

He was here shown a bag of gunpowder, carefully preserved as seed against the next planting season.

CHAPTER II.

COURT OF POWHATAN—SMITH'S PRESERVATION BY POCAHONTAS—SUPPLIES FURNISHED BY THE INDIANS—NEWPORT'S ARRIVAL—SMITH'S EXPEDITIONS UP THE CHESAPEAKE.

THE great monarch of the country, Powhatan, at this period, was holding his court at Werowocomoco, on the left bank of York river, and thither Smith was conveyed to await the royal pleasure. The reception of so important a captive was conducted with suitable solemnity and parade. Powhatan sat upon a raised seat before a fire, in a large house, clothed with a robe of racoon skins, the tails hanging in ornamental array. He was an old man, about sixty years of age, of noble figure, and that commanding presence natural in one born to rule with undisputed authority over all around him. A young girl sat on each side of the king, and marshalled around the room were rows of warriors and women, bedecked with beads, feathers and paint.

Smith's entrance was hailed by a shout; the queen of Appamatuck brought him water to wash, and he was magnificently entertained, as a distinguished guest of the king. The strange scene which ensued, so replete with pathos and poetic interest, must be given in the simple language of the old historian.

Having ended his repast, "a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could, layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and



POCAHONTAS INTERPOSING FOR CAPTAIN SMITH.

being ready with their clubs to beate out his braines, Pocahontas, the king's dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne vpon his to saue him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should liue to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads and copper; for they thought him as well of all occupations as themselues."

The worthy captain's own rhymes describe his appearance and state of mind at this crisis:

"They say he bore a pleasant show, but sure his heart was sad;
For who can pleasant be and rest, that liues in fear and dread?"

Entertaining his captive as a privileged guest, Powhatan now held long consultations with him, giving wonderful accounts of the vast western country and its inhabitants. Smith responded with details, equally amazing to the savage monarch, of the power and magnificence of the East. After two days of friendly intercourse, Smith was informed that he should return in safety to Jamestown; but as a prelude to the conveyance of this satisfactory intelligence, Powhatan was at much pains to get up a theatrical scene that should impress or terrify his prisoner. Left alone in a large cabin, Smith's ears were saluted by strange and frightful noises from behind a mat partition, and, incontinently, Powhatan, with some hundreds of attendants, all like himself, in hideous disguises, made his appearance. He appointed twelve Indians to guide him to the settlement, requesting that a grindstone and two great guns should be sent back, by them, in return for liberty and favours received at his hands.

Captain Smith, well knowing the capricious disposition of his captors, felt little security or ease, until he was safely restored to his companions at Jamestown.

His absence had been severely felt: confusion and dissension were rife among the inhabitants of the colony, and

the strong arm and determined will of the bold captain were required to keep order, and restrain those who were again inclined to effect an escape in the pinnace.

The two guns (demi-culverins), together with a mill-stone, were brought out, and proffered to the guides; but, seeing the terrible effect of a discharge of stones among the branches of an ice-covered tree, the poor savages were greatly terrified, and thankfully accepted divers toys in place of so weighty and dangerous a present.

So reduced were the settlers at this time, that all must have perished with starvation but for the intercourse established by Smith between them and the people of Powhatan. Every four or five days, his noble and generous little protectress, Pocahontas—she was then only about ten years of age—would make her appearance, accompanied by attendants laden with provisions. Part of these supplies came as presents from the king or his daughter; for the rest, the price paid in toys and articles of use was left entirely at Smith's discretion, "so had he inchanted these poore soules, being their prisoner."

Captains Newport and Nelson now arrived from England with two ships, laden with necessaries and articles of traffic. Rejoiced at the arrival of friends and provisions, the colonists allowed the sailors to hold what intercourse they pleased with the natives, and the consequence was that the market was soon spoiled by the irregularity of prices offered by the English for the Indian commodities. Smith had possessed Powhatan and his people with extravagant ideas of the power and majesty of Newport, whose speedy arrival he predicted, and preparations were now made to give a still more forcible impression. Messengers were sent to inform the Indian monarch that the great captain of the seas had reached Jamestown, and would make a visit of state to his royal friend and ally. The pinnace was made ready for this purpose, and "a great

coyle there was to set him forward." When they had arrived at Werowocomoco, Newport was wary and cautious, fearing treachery on the part of the savages, and Smith therefore volunteered to go forward, with a small company, and see that the coast was clear. Over the creeks which meandered through the marshy country, bridges were found, but of so frail a structure, being composed of poles bound with bark, that some suspicions were entertained that they might be intended as traps. Smith therefore kept some of the chief Indians, who acted as guides, in the midst of his company, for security against attack.

All their suspicion proved groundless: Powhatan received the officers with the greatest distinction, entertained them hospitably, and celebrated their coming with feasts and dances. The great king "carried himself so proudly yet discreetly (in his salvage manner) as made all admire his naturall gifts." He declined any petty traffic, but requested Newport to bring forward at once all the goods that he had brought for trade, expressing his willingness to give full return. His desire was complied with, Newport wishing to outdo the king in generosity and show of munificence; but the result hardly equalled his expectation, for the cunning savage, says the narrator, "valued his corne at such a rate that I think it better cheape in Spain." A few blue beads in the possession of Smith now caught the eye of Powhatan, and aroused his curiosity and avarice. The wary captain pretended to be loth to part with them, as being of a "most rare substance of the colour of the skyes, and not to be worn but by the greatest kings in the world. This made him half madde to be the owner of such strange Iewels," and, to obtain them, he readily paid an immense quantity of corn, esteeming himself still the gainer. The trade in blue beads, after this, became a royal monopoly.

The party returned to Jamestown; but only to experience greater privation and hardship than ever.

The town took fire, and much of their provisions, clothing, and other means of comfort was destroyed. The winter was bitterly cold, and nearly the whole colony, together with the crews of the ships, were possessed with an insane desire to search for gold, to the neglect of the labors necessary to secure health and prosperity. From these causes more than half their number perished.

The Indians, seeing their weakness, became insolent and exacting, and, but for Smith, whose prompt and energetic action, without actual bloodshed, subdued and brought them to terms, they might have completely overawed, and perhaps have extirpated the colony. Those whom the English took prisoners insisted that the hostilities were in accordance with the orders of Powhatan: but he, on the other hand, averred that it was the work of some of his unruly subordinates. The conciliatory message was brought by "his dearest daughter Pocahontas," whose appearance ever had the most potent influence with the brave man for whom she felt such filial attachment, and who was bound to her by every tie of gratitude and affection.

Upon the 2d of June, 1608, Captain Smith, with fourteen companions—one half "gentlemen," the rest "soldiers"—undertook his celebrated exploration of Chesapeake Bay. Their conveyance was a large open barge.

They first shaped their course for the isles lying off Cape Charles, still known as Smith's Isles, and thence rëentered the bay. Passing Cape Charles, they saw "two grim and stout salvages," armed with bone-headed lances, who fearlessly questioned them as to whence they came and whither they were bound. They were subjects of the Werowance of Accomack, on the eastern shore of the bay; and, being kindly entreated, responded with

equal civility, and directed the English to their king's head-quarters.

They found the chief to be the "comliest, proper, civill savage" that they had ever held communion with. He gave a most singular account of a pestilence which had not long before carried off the greater portion of his people. Two children had died, probably of some infectious disease, and "some extreame passions, or dreaming visions, phantasies, or affection moued their parents againe to revisit their dead carkases, whose benummed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such delightfull countenances as though they had regained their vitall spirits." Great crowds gathered to see this spectacle, nearly all of whom, shortly after, died of some unknown disease.

These Indians spoke the Powhatan dialect, and entertained Smith with glowing descriptions of the beauties and advantages of the bay, to the northward. Proceeding on their voyage, the navigators entered the river of Wighcocomoco, on the eastern shore, where the inhabitants exhibited great rage and hostility, but perceiving that no harm was intended them, with true savage caprice, fell to dancing and singing, in wonder and merriment at the novel spectacle. No good water was to be obtained here, and Smith with his crew made short tarrying. Still coasting along the eastern portion of the bay, they reached the Cuskarawaok, where great troops of savages followed them along the bank, climbing into the trees, and discharging their arrows with "the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger." As the party could not by signs give them to understand that they came peacefully, a discharge of pistol-shot was directed, which produced the usual effect, scattering the Indians in every direction. On landing, not a native could be found: the English therefore left a few beads, bells, looking-glasses, and bits of copper in the huts and returned on board their barge.

Next morning the poor simple savages, dismissing all fear, gathered round them to the number, as appeared, of two or three thousand, eager to offer whatever was in their power to bestow for "a little bead" or other trivial toy. These people were the Sarapinagh, Nause, Arseek, and Mantaquak, and they showed such readiness to trade, that Smith pronounced them the "best marchants of all other salvages." They gave wonderful accounts of the powerful and warlike Massawomekes, who lived to the northward, and were identical with the Iroquois or Six Nations.

Some of the crew falling sick, and the rest becoming weary and discontented with their unaccustomed fatigue and exposure, Smith, much against his inclination, turned towards home, "leaving the bay some nine miles broad, at nine and ten fadom water." Entering the Potomac, on the 16th of June, it was determined to explore it, as the sick men had recovered. No Indians were seen until the company had passed thirty miles up the river; but, arriving at a creek in the neighborhood of Onawmanient, "the woods were layd with ambuscado's, to the number of three or foure thousand salvages, so strangely paynted, grimed and disguised, shouting, yelling and crying as so many spirits from hell could not have shewed more terrible. Many brauado's they made," but a discharge of bullets, over the surface of the water, quickly changed their mood. Arms were flung down, hostages given, and courtesy and kindness succeeded the truculent demeanor which was first exhibited. By the account of the Indians, Powhatan had directed this intended attack; and, if their representation was true, he was stimulated to such a course by sundry of Smith's enemies at Jamestown.

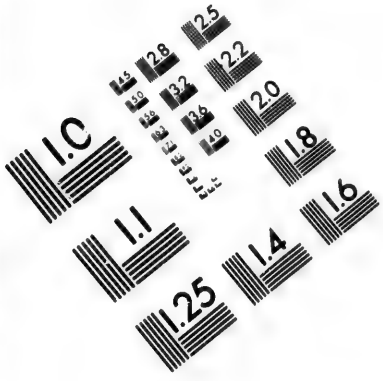
The boat's crew made their way as far up as the river was navigable, encountering various other tribes, some of whom were friendly, and others hostile. The thunder of the English weapons never failed to awe and subdue them

Ever hankering after the precious metals, the adventurers were attracted by glittering particles in the bed of various streams; and, making it a constant object of inquiry, they were led by some Indians, subject to the king of Pataw-omeke, to a noted mine, on the little stream of Quiough. It was on a rocky mount, and the material sought, when dug out with shells and hatchets, sparkled like antimony. The Indians were accustomed to wash and cleanse it, and then, putting it in small bags, "sell it all ouer the country, to paint their bodyes, faces or idolls; which made them looke like Blackamoores dusted over with siluer." Newport asserted that the contents of some of those bags, when assayed in England, proved to be exceedingly rich in silver; but all that Smith and his men collected was worthless.

On the way towards Jamestown, as the barge lay in shoal water, the crew amused themselves by spearing fish, which were exceedingly plenty. Captain Smith, using his sword for this purpose, drew up a fish, ("not knowing her condition,) being much of the fashion of a Thornback, but a long tayle like a riding rodde, whereon the middest is a most poysoned sting, of two or three inches long, bearded like a saw on each side, which she struck into the wrist of his arme neare an inch and a halfe." The swelling and pain consequent upon this, were so great that the brave captain, despairing of recovery, ordered his own grave to be dug; which was accordingly done on a neighboring island. His time, however, had not yet come: the physician of the party succeeded in relieving him, insomuch that, that very night "hee ate of the fish to his supper."

As they returned to their old quarters, the Indians judged from their appearance that they had been engaged in notable wars; an idea which they failed not to encourage, averring that all the spoil brought home was taken from the redoubtable Massawomekes.





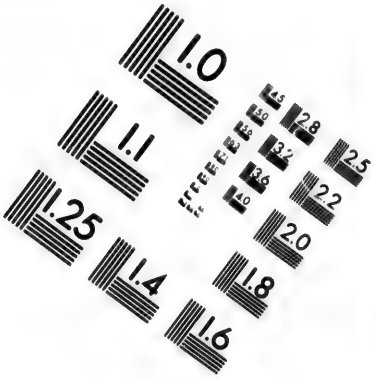
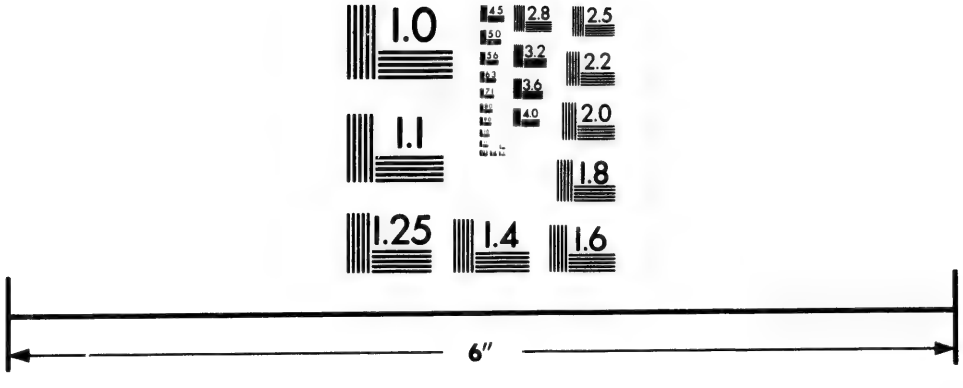
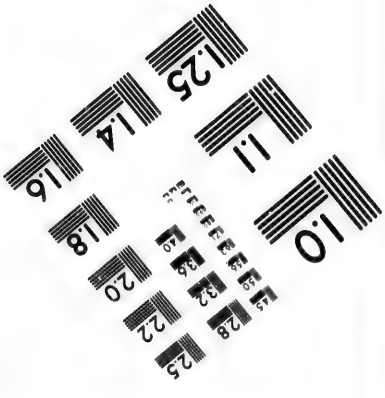


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

At Jamestown all was found in disorder and misery, as was generally the case when the master-spirit was absent. Thus ended the first exploration of the unknown waters of the Chesapeake, leaving the English still in doubt as to its extent, and still hopeful of eventually finding a passage thereby to the South Seas!

On the 24th of July, a second expedition was undertaken up the bay, by Smith, with a boat's crew of twelve men. The Indians of Kecoughtan, with whom they spent several days, exulted greatly in the supposition that the English were out on a war expedition against their dreaded enemies, the Massawomekes.

Proceeding up the bay, more than half the party were prostrated by the diseases of the climate, and in this crippled condition they came upon seven or eight canoes, filled with Indians of the warlike tribe they were supposed to be in search of. Seeing that the English showed no fear, but prepared briskly for an engagement, these Massawomekes concluded that discretion was the better part of valor, and fled to the shore. Being tempted by the offer of some trifling toys, they at last came out to the barge unarmed, bringing presents of provisions, targets, skins, and rude implements of warfare. They had been engaged in war with the Indians of the Tockwogh or Sassafras river, as their fresh wounds bore witness.

They disappeared during the following night, and the explorers made their way into the river of Tockwogh. Seeing the Massawomeke weapons, the Tockwoghs were in ecstasy, supposing that their enemies had been defeated; and led Smith up to their fortified town: "Men, women, and children, with daunces, songs, fruit, furres, and what they had, stretching their best abilities to expresse their loues."

Here Smith made some stay, sending messengers to invite a deputation from the renowned Sasquesahanocks

to visit him. Sixty of "those gyant-like people," accordingly came down from their country, bringing presents, and holding bold and familiar intercourse with the strangers. The daily devotional exercises of prayers and psalms, which our pious Captain regularly observed, were responded to, on the part of the wondering savages, by strange ceremonies of their own.

"They began in a most passionate manner, to hold vp their hands to the Sunne, with a most feareful song, then imbracing our captaine, they began to adore him in like manner: though he rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their song was finished: which done, with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce, began an oration of their loues."

They then clothed him with rich skins and mantles, and proffering beads and toys, declared that they, and all they had, were at his service, if he would but lend his assistance against the terrible Massawomekes.

Returning to examine the river Rapahanock, Smith fell in with a former acquaintance, one Mosco, of Wighcocomoco. He was doubtless a half-breed, and was supposed to be some Frenchman's son, as he rejoiced in the distinguishing mark of a "thicke, black, bush beard, and the Salvages seldome haue any at all."

The English fortified their boat by making a breastwork around the gun-wale, of the Massawomeke shields, which were so thickly plated as to resist the arrows of the savages. This stood them in good stead in divers skirmishes with the Rapahanocks. On one occasion, thirty or forty of that tribe so disguised themselves with bushes and branches, that, as they stood discharging their arrows upon the edge of the river, the English supposed their array to be a natural growth of shrubs.

Mosco accompanied Smith in his visits to many nations on the Chesapeake, and proved of no little service, whether

the reception at their hands was friendly or hostile. The good will of a party of Manahocks was gained by means of favor shown to a wounded prisoner, whom Mosco would fain have dispatched—"never was dog more furious against a beare, than Mosco was to have beat out his braines." They questioned this captive, who was called Amorolock, about his own and the adjoining tribes, and demanded of him why his people had attacked peaceful strangers. "The poore salvage mildly answered," that they had heard that the English were "a people come from under the world to take their world from them." He described the Monacans as friendly to his tribe, and said that they lived in the mountainous country to the west, "by small rivers, liuing upon rootes and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The Massawomeks did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world."

In this, and the preceding voyage, the whole of the extensive bay of Chesapeake, was explored, together with the lower portions of the principal rivers emptying into it; and an accurate chart of the whole country still bears witness to the skill and perseverance of the brave commander. Curious sketches of native chiefs, and of encounters between them and the English, accompany the maps which illustrate the quaint and interesting narrative from which this portion of our history is drawn.

Before returning to Jamestown, the party sailed for the southern shores, and passed up the Elizabeth river into the "Chisapeack" country. They saw but few dwellings, surrounded by garden plots, but were struck with the magnificent growth of pines which lined the banks. Thence coasting along the shore, they came to the mouth of the Nandsamund, where a few Indians were engaged in fishing. These fled in affright, but the English landing, and leaving some attractive trifles where they would find them,

their demeanor was soon changed. Singing and dancing, they invited the party to enter the river, and one of them came on board the barge. Complying with the request, Smith went up the stream seven or eight miles, when extensive corn fields were seen. Perceiving some signs of treachery, he would not proceed farther, but endeavored to rēgain the open water with all possible expedition. His fears proved to be well grounded; for on the way down, arrows were poured into the boat from either side of the river by hundreds of Indians, while seven or eight canoes filled with armed men followed "to see the conclusion." Turning upon these, the English, by a volley from their muskets, soon drove the savages on shore and seized the canoes.

The Indians, seeing their invaluable canoes in the enemies' power, to save them from destruction readily laid down their arms; and, upon further communication, agreed to deliver up their king's bow and arrows, and to furnish four hundred baskets of corn to avert the threatened vengeance of the terrible strangers.

CHAPTER III.

CORONATION OF POWHATAN—SMITH'S VISIT TO WEROWOCOMOCO FOR SUPPLIES—TREACHERY OF POWHATAN—SMITH A SECOND TIME PRESERVED BY POCAHONTAS—VISIT TO PAMUNKY—FIGHT WITH THE KING OF PASPAHEGH—ASCENDANCY OF THE ENGLISH.

In the ensuing September, Smith was formally made president of the colony at Jamestown, and set himself promptly to correct abuses and perfect the company in the military exercises so suited to his own inclinations, and so essential in their isolated and dangerous position.

The wandering savages would collect in astonishment to see these performances, standing "in amazement to behold how a fyle would batter a tree, where he would make them a marke to shoot at."

Newport, soon after, made his appearance, bringing out from England many adventurers ill-suited to the life before them in the new country: "thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers vp of trees' roots," says Smith, would have been worth a thousand of them. By the same arrival, came a large boat, brought out in five pieces, to be used in further explorations in search of the South Sea, and a crown, with brilliant trappings and regalia for the solemn coronation of Powhatan. Smith speaks with great contempt of this transaction: the "costly novelties had beene much better well spared than so ill-spent," for they had the king's "favour much better only for a playne peece of Copper, till this stately kind of soliciting made him so much overvalue himself that he respected vs as much as nothing at all."

The captain, with four companions, volunteered to go to Werowocomoco, and invite Powhatan to come to Jamestown and receive his presents. Arriving at the village, they found that the chief was thirty miles away from home; but a messenger was dispatched for him, and, meanwhile, his daughter Pocahontas exerted herself, to the best of her ability, to divert and entertain her guests. This was done after a strange fashion. A masquerade dance of some thirty young women, nearly naked, was ushered in by such a "hydeous noise and shrieking," that the English seized on some old men who stood by, as hostages, thinking that treachery was intended. They were relieved from apprehension by the assurances of Pocahontas, and the pageant proceeded. The leader of the dance was decked with a "fayre paire of buck's hornes on her head, and an Otter's skinne at her girdle." The others were also horned,

and painted and equipped, "every one with their severall devises. These fiends with most hellish shouts and eryes, rushing from among the trees, cast themselues in a ring about the fire, singing and dauncing with most excellent ill-variety." Afterwards, when Smith had entered one of their wigwams, "all these Nymphs more tormented him than ever with crowding, pressing and hanging about him, most tediously crying, Love you not me? love you not me?"

Upon Powhatan's return, he proudly refused to go to Jamestown for his presents, standing upon his dignity as a king; and the robes and trinkets were accordingly sent round to Werowocomoco by water. The coronation scene must have been ludicrous in the extreme: "the presents were brought him, his Bason and Ewer, Bed and furniture set vp, his scarlet cloke and apparell with much adoe put on him, being persuaded by Namontack, they would not hurt him: but a foule trouble there was to make him kneele to receiue his Crowne, he neither knowing the maiesty nor meaning of a crown, nor bending of the knee, endured so many perswasions, examples and instructions as tyred them all; at last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and three having the crowne in their hands, put it on his head, when, by the warning of a pistoll the Boats were prepared with such a volley of shot, that the King start vp with a horrible feare till he saw all was well."

After this, Newport, with one hundred and twenty men, made some unimportant explorations, above the falls, among the Monacans. Their continual greedy search for mines of the precious metals interfered with useful operations and discoveries.

The Indians now became unwilling to trade, and Powhatan seemed to have adopted the policy of starving out the colony. We can hardly justify the course of Smith in enforcing supplies, on any other plea than that of ne-

cessity; but certain it is, that he alone seemed to have that power and influence over the simple savages which could secure at once their love and fear.

Powhatan having at last agreed to furnish a ship-load of corn, if the English would build him a house, and furnish him with a grindstone, a cock and hen, some arms, copper and beads, five men were sent to Werowocomoco to commence operations. Three of these were Dutchmen.

To carry out this contract, and procure the promised corn, Smith started for the camp of Powhatan towards the last of December, (1608,) accompanied by twenty-seven men in the barge and pinnace, while a number of others crossed the country to build the proposed house. At Warraskoyack, the friendly king cautioned him against being deceived by Powhatan's expressions of kindness, insisting that treachery was intended.

Christmas was spent by the party at Kecoughtan, on the left bank of James' river, near its mouth; and merry cheer was made upon g[illegible] and oysters. They reached Werowocomoco on the [illegible]n of January, and landed with much difficulty, as the river was bordered with ice, to break through which they were obliged to wade waist-deep, "a flight-shot through this muddy frozen oase."

Powhatan gave them venison and turkies for their immediate use, but when the subject of the corn was broached, he protested that he and his people had little or none, and demanded forty swords in case he should procure forty baskets. Smith replied sternly, upbraiding him for duplicity and faithlessness, and cautioning him not to provoke hostilities where friendship only was intended. The wily chief, on the other hand, made many deprecatory speeches, continually urging Smith to direct his men to lay down their arms, that the conference should appear to be peaceful, and the Indians feel at ease and in safety, while bringing in their corn.

After much bargaining and haggling, a small quantity of corn was procured, and Powhatan made a most plausible and characteristic speech to persuade Smith that nothing could be farther from his intention than hostility. Can you suppose, said he, that I, a man of age and experience, having outlived three generations of my people, should be "so simple as not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, haue copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: than be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede vpon acornes, rootes, and such trash, and be so hunted by you that I can neither rest, eate nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth, there commeth Captaine Smith."

Thus the time was spent in useless discourse, and Smith, perceiving that the Indians were only watching for an opportunity to attack him unawares, ordered the barge to be brought to shore, and the pittance of corn to be stowed on board. Powhatan then disappeared, but immediately sent his warriors to surround the house and cut off Smith while the body of the English were engaged with the barge.

Aided only by one companion, the valiant captain rushed forth, "with his pistoll, sword and target," and "made such a passage among these naked Diuels, that, at his first shoot, they next him tumbled one ouer another." Seeing that Smith had rējoined his company, Powhatan pretended that he had sent his people to guard the corn from being stolen, and renewed his protestations of friendship.

The boats being left ashore by the tide, the captain was obliged to spend the night on shore. Powhatan now conceived himself sure of his victims, and gathered all his people, with the intention of surprising Smith under cover of the night. "Notwithstanding the eternal all-seeing God did preuent him, and by a strange meanes. For Poca-

hontas, his dearest iewell and daughter, in that darke night came through the irksome woods, and told our Captaine greate cheare should be sent vs by and by; but Powhatan and all the power he could make, would after come and kill vs all, if they that brought it could not kill vs with oure owne weapons when we were at supper. Therefore if we would liue, she wished vs presently to be gone. Such things as she delighted in he would have giuen her; but with the teares running downe her cheekes, she said she durst not be seen to haue any; for if Powhatan should know it she were but dead, and so she ranne away by herselfe as she came."

One can readily imagine the distress of the poor child at feeling thus compelled, by her affection for her English friend, to become unfaithful to her father and her own people.

The feast was sent in shortly after, by a number of strong warriors, who were very earnest in their invitation to the party to lay down their arms and fall to. The matches which the English kept burning met with their decided disapproval, the smoke, as they averred, making them sick. Smith, being forewarned, did not fail to spend the night in vigilance, and sent word to Powhatan that he felt well convinced of his villanous intentions, and should be prepared for him. The Dutchmen, who were with the king, were all along supposed to be implicated in his treachery, being inimical to Smith, and glad of an opportunity to destroy him. After his departure from Werowocomoco, two of them hastened to Jamestown, and, by various pretences, obtained a quantity of arms, which, with the assistance of some Indian companions, they carried off to Powhatan. In return for this assistance, he promised them immunity from the havoc that should overtake the colony, and high office and power in his own service.

Continuing his search for provision, Smith arrived at

Pamunky, where Opechancanough received him with apparent kindness, but showed no readiness to trade. Smith reminded him of former promises and injuries, and expressed a determination to obtain supplies; proffering just payment. The chief managed to decoy the captain and his "old fifteene" into his house, exhibiting some baskets of corn, which he alleged were procured with great difficulty, but in the meantime some seven hundred armed warriors, by his orders, surrounded the building.

Our brave captain, first exhorting his men to show no signs of fear, now sternly addressed the king, challenging him to single combat, with equal arms, upon an island in the river. Opechancanough still pretended good will and friendship, and attempted to entice Smith out at the door, by promises of munificent presents: "the bait was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart, as a barricado) each his arrow nocked ready to shoot."

Smith, perceiving that prompt action was now necessary, sprang upon the king, and, holding him by the fore-lock with one hand, while, with the other, he held a cocked pistol to his breast, he led him forth among his people. Opechancanough, completely cowed, delivered up his arms, and all his warriors, amazed at the Englishman's audacity, laid theirs upon the ground.

Still keeping hold of the chief's hair, Smith made a brief oration, threatening terrible vengeance if a drop of English blood should be spilt, and declaring that if they would not sell him corn he would freight his ship with their carcasses. He promised, moreover, continued friendship if no further cause for complaint were given. All now made friendly protestations, and brought in abundance of provision; but, as Smith lay down to recruit himself with a little sleep, a great number of the savages rushed in to overpower him. This attack was repelled as successfully

and promptly as the first. The king in a lengthy speech excused and explained the movement, and the day ended in peaceful trade and barter.

At this time arrived one Richard Wyffin, who had venturously made his way alone through the wilderness to announce to Smith a great loss which the colony had met with in the death of Gosnoll and eight companions. They had started in a skiff for the Isle of Hogs, and were upset by a gale "(that extreame frozen time)" and drowned. Wyffin had stopped at Powhatan's head-quarters, and only escaped destruction by the kindness of the Englishman's fast friend Pocahontas. She "hid him for a time, and sent them who pursued him the cleane contrary way to seeke him."

Concealing this disastrous intelligence from his followers, Captain Smith set Opechancanough at liberty, and again embarked, intending, ere his return to Jamestown, to secure the person of Powhatan. That chief had issued general orders for the destruction of Smith, and every where, as the boat passed along the river bank, crowds of Indians would appear, bringing corn in baskets, and offering it to the company if they would come for it unarmed. Their intention was evidently to draw the English into an ambuscade. The captain succeeded in surprising one of these parties, and obtaining their provision.

Some of them, who consented to trade, supplied the English with poisoned food, which was eaten by Smith and others, but the poison did not prove sufficiently potent to destroy their lives. Suspicion fell upon a vigorous young warrior named Wecuttanow, as the author of this treachery; but he, having forty or fifty companions with him, "so proudly braued it as though he expected to incounter a revenge.—Which the President (Smith) perceiving in the midst of his company, did not onely beate, but spurned him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischiefe."

At other places where provision was sought, it was plain that the Indians were themselves in want, and "imparted that little they had with such complaints and tears from the eyes of women and children as he had beene too cruell to haue beene a Christian that would not haue beene satisfied and moued with compassion."

Powhatan, cautioned by "those damned Dutchmen," had left Werowocomoco, with all his effects, before Smith arrived there, and the plan of making him prisoner was therefore abandoned. Here Smith breaks out into a spirited justification of his conduct and purposes, complaining that fault had been found with him, by some, for cruelty and harshness, and by others for want of energy and determination. He draws a strong contrast between the proceedings of the English colony and the manner in which the Spaniards usually followed up their discoveries. It was not pleasing, he says, to some, that he had temporized with such a treacherous people, and "that he washed not the ground with their blouds, nor showed such strange inventions in mangling, murdering, ransacking, and destroying, (as did the Spanyards,) the simple bodies of such ignorant soules."

The renegade Dutchmen had a place of rendezvous near Jamestown, known as the "glasse house," whither they resorted, with their Indian associates, to carry on their system of pilfering arms and other articles from the colony. Captain Smith making a visit to this spot, with the intention of arresting one of them, named Francis, whom he had heard to be there, was set upon, as he returned alone, by the king of Paspahegh, "a most strong stout salvage," and a terrible personal encounter ensued. The Indian closed upon him, so that he could make no use of his falchion, and, by sheer strength, dragged him into the river. After a desperate struggle, Smith succeeded in grasping the savage by the throat, and in drawing his weapon. "Seeing

how pitifully he begged for his life, he led him prisoner to James Towne, and put him in chaynes." His women and children came every day to visit him, bringing presents to propitiate the English. Being carelessly guarded, the king finally made his escape. In attempts to recover him, some fighting and bloodshed ensued, and two Indians, named Kemp and Tussore, "the two most exact villaines in all the Countrey," were taken prisoners. Smith, with a corps of soldiery, proceeding to punish the Indians on the Chickahominy, passed by Paspahegh, and there concluded a peace with the natives. They at first ventured to attack him, but unable to resist the English weapons, they threw down their arms, and sent forward a young warrior, called Okaning, to make an oration.

He represented that his chief, in effecting an escape, had but followed the instincts of nature; that fowls, beasts, and fishes strove to avoid captivity and snares, and why should not man be allowed so universal a privilege? He added that, if the English would not live at peace with them, the tribe must abandon the country, and the supplies which the colony had heretofore obtained from them be thereby cut off.

The power and influence of Smith among the savages was infinitely increased by a circumstance which occurred immediately after his return to Jamestown. A pistol had been stolen by a Chickahominy Indian, and his two bro'hers, supposed to be privy to the theft, had been seized, to secure its return. One of them was sent in search of the missing article, assured that his brother should be hanged if it was not forthcoming within twelve hours. Smith, "pitying the poore naked Salvage in the dungeon, sent him victuall and some Char-coale for a fire: ere midnight, his brother returned with the Pistoll, but the poore Salvage in the dungeon was so smoothered with the smoake he had made, and so pittiously burnt," that he appeared to be

dead. His brother, overwhelmed with grief, uttered such touching lamentations over the body, that Captain Smith, although feeling little hope of success, assured him that he would bring the dead Indian to life, provided he and his fellows would give over their thieving. Energetic treatment restored the poor fellow to consciousness, and, his burns being dressed, the simple pair were sent on their way, each with a small present, to spread the report, far and near, that Captain Smith had power to restore the dead to life. Not long after, several Indians were killed by the explosion of a quantity of powder, which they were attempting to dry upon a plate of armor, as they had seen the English do. "These and many other such pretty Accidents, so amazed and frighted both Powhatan and all his people," that they came in from all quarters, returning stolen property, and begging for favour and peace: "and all the country," says the narrator, "became absolutely as free for vs, as for themselues."

CHAPTER IV.

DISTRESS OF THE COLONIES—MARTIN AND WEST'S SETTLEMENTS—ARRIVAL OF LORD DE LA WARRE—RETALIATIONS UPON THE NATIVES—SEIZURE OF POCAHONTAS: HER MARRIAGE—PEACE WITH THE INDIANS—POCAHONTAS VISITS ENGLAND: HER DEATH—DEATH OF POWHATAN—PORY'S SETTLEMENT.

WHILE Captain Smith remained in America, and continued in power, he maintained his authority over the natives In a grievous famine that succeeded the events we have just detailed, they proved of infinite service in providing the wild products of the forest for the starving

colonists. Many of the English were sent out to live with the savages, and learn their arts of gathering and preparing the roots and other edibles that must take the place of corn. These were treated with every kindness by the Indians, "of whom," says Smith, "there was more hope to make better Christians and good subjects than the one-halfe of those that counterfeited themselues both." Kemp and Tussore, who had been set at liberty, remained thereafter staunch adherents to the English interests. Sundry malcontents belonging to the colony had fled into the woods, thinking to live in ease among the natives, whom they promised revenge upon their old conqueror, the president. Kemp, however, instead of giving ear to these persuasions, fed them "with this law, who would not work, múst not eate, till they were neere starued indeede, continually threatening to beat them to death;" and finally carried them forcibly back to Captain Smith.

In the early part of the summer of 1609, large supplies came over from England, and a great number of factious and disorderly adventurers were brought into the new settlement. Unwilling to submit to the authority of the president, insatiate after mines of gold and silver, cowardly in battle, and cruel and treacherous in peace; their distress proved commensurate with their unthrift. At Nansemund, a company, under one Captain Martin, after wantonly provoking the ill-will of the natives, was unable to resist their attacks; and another division, under West, which attempted a settlement at the falls of James' river, proved equally inefficient and impolitic. "The poore salvages that daily brought in their contributions to the President, that disorderly company so tormented those poore soules, by stealing their corne, robbing their gardens, beating them, breaking their houses and keeping some prisoners, that they daily complained to Captaine Smith, he had brought them for protectors worse enemies

than the Monacans themselues: they desired pardon if hereafter they defended themselues."

Carrying out this intention, the Indians fell upon the fort immediately after Smith's departure, he having set sail for Jamestown. His vessel taking ground before he had proceeded far, he was called upon to interfere, and brought matters to an amicable conclusion, removing the English from the inconvenient spot they had selected for their habitation into the pleasant country of Powhatan.

Before reaching Jamestown, Captain Smith met with so severe an accident by the firing of a bag of gun-powder, that he was thereafter incapacitated from further service in the colony. So terribly was his flesh torn and burned, that, to relieve the pain, he instantly threw himself into the river, from which he was with difficulty rescued. It being impossible to procure the necessary medical assistance for the cure of so extensive an injury, he took passage for England by the first opportunity, and never again rēvisited the colony he had planted and supported with such singular devotion, energy, and courage. The fate of the two principal of the Dutch conspirators against his life, is thus chronicled: "But to see the justice of God vpon these Dutchmen:—Adam and Francis were fled againe to Powhatan, to whom they promised, at the arrivall of my Lord (La Warre), what wonders they would doe, would he suffer them but to goe to him. But the king seeing they would be gone, replyed; you that would haue betrayed Captaine Smith to me, will certainely betray me to this great Lord for your peace; so caused his men to beat out their braines."

Smith's departure was the signal for general defection among the Indians. They seized the boats of the settlers under Martin and West; who, unable to keep their ground, returned to Jamestown, with the loss of nearly half their men. A party of thirty or forty, bound upon a trading

expedition, was set upon by Powhatan and his warriors, and all except two were slain. One of these, a boy, named Henry Spilman, was preserved by the intervention of Pocahontas, and sent to live among the Patawomekes. Reduced to the greatest extremity, the English were obliged to barter their very arms for provisions, thus adding to the power of the enemy in the same ratio that they weakened their own resources. Famine, pestilence, and savage invasion reduced the colony, which before had numbered five hundred inhabitants, to about sixty miserable and helpless wretches, within the short space of six months from the time that Smith set sail. The crude products of the forest formed their principal food; "nay, so great was our famine," proceeds the narrative, "that a Saluage we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him vp againe and eat him, and so did diuers one another, boyled and stewed with roots and herbs: And one amongst the rest did kill his wife, powdered her and had eaten part of her before it was knowne, for which he was executed as he well deserued."

Upon the arrival of a ship, with Sir Thomas Gates and company, all the unfortunate settlers, abandoning their town, took passage with him for England. At the commencement of the voyage, they fell in with Lord La Warre, who was on his way to Jamestown, bringing with him large supplies of men and necessaries; and all returned together to Jamestown.

Fortunately the Indians had not, as yet, destroyed the fort, and the numbers and efficiency of the whites were so far increased, that they were "able to tame the furie and trecherie of the Saluages."

On the 15th of June (1610) Captain Argall, being engaged in a trading expedition among the Patawomekes, found there the young prisoner, Henry Spilman, who had met with kind treatment, and by whose intervention

abundance of corn was procured. Frequent mention is made of Spilman in subsequent portions of Virginian history. He was killed by the Potomac Indians, in 1623, while on a trading expedition up the river. Having gone on shore with some of his company, some difficulty arose, and, after a short skirmish, those on board the boat, "heard a great brute among the Salvages a shore, and saw a mans head throwne downe the banke, whereupon they weighed anchor and returned home, but how he was surprised or slaine is uncertaine."

That the colonists were not slow in making use of their newly-acquired power over the natives in their vicinity, sufficiently appears from the manner in which they revenged some injuries received from those of Paspahegh. Not satisfied with burning their town, they deliberately put to death the queen and her children, who had fallen into their hands.

In the following year the Appomatuck Indians, for some offences, were driven from their homes, and their corn was seized, "without the loss of any except some few Saluages." The manner in which peaceful intercourse was at last established with Powhatan, however it may be justified upon the plea of necessity, reflects but little credit upon the English. Argall, in the year 1613, (according to some chroniclers,) while up the Potomac in search of corn, heard from the sachem Japazaws that Pocahontas, who had not been seen at Jamestown since Smith's departure, was residing among his people. The captain determined not to lose the opportunity to secure so valuable a hostage, and having, by the assistance of Japazaws, decoyed her on board his ship, he made her prisoner. The treacherous Potomac sachem pretended great distress; "the old Iew and his wife began to howle and crie as fast as Pocahontas," but appeared pacified when Argall told them that the princess should be well treated, and restored

as soon as Powhatan would make restitution of the goods he had purloined and plundered from the colony.

When the emperor learned of this transaction, the "vnwelcome newes much troubled him, because he loued both his daughter and the English commodities well;" and he left Pocahontas in the enemies' hands for several months before he deigned to pay the least attention to their demands. It has been supposed, and with great show of reason, that the kind-hearted girl had lost favor with her father by her sympathy with the English, and by endeavoring to save them at the time of the massacres which preceded the last arrival; and that this was the cause of her retirement to Potomac.

When Powhatan at last consented to treat, his offers were entirely unsatisfactory to the English, and another long interval elapsed without any communication from him. Meantime, an ardent attachment had sprung up between Pocahontas and a young Englishman of the colony named John Rolfe, "an honest gentleman and of good behaviour." When it was at last concluded to use open force to reduce Powhatan to compliance with the English requisitions, a large force proceeded to the chief's headquarters, by water, taking the princess with them. The Indians exhibited an insolent and warlike demeanor, but were easily put to flight, and their town was burned. Pursuing their advantage, the invading party proceeded up the river to Matchot, where, a truce being agreed upon, two of Powhatan's sons came to visit their sister, and, overjoyed at finding her well and kindly cared for, promised their best endeavors to bring matters to a peaceful issue. Rolfe, with one companion, had an interview with Opechancanough, who also declared that he would strive to persuade the king to compliance with the English proposals.

When Powhatan heard of the proposed marriage of his daughter, his anger and resentment towards the whites

seemed to be appeased. He sent his brother Opitchapan, and others of his family, to witness the ceremony, and readily permitted the old terms of trade and intimacy to be renewed. Pocahontas and John Rolfe were married about the first of April, 1613.

The Chickahominies, hearing that Powhatan was in league with the colony, felt little inclined to be upon ill-terms with so powerful a confederacy; and, having made advances, a treaty of friendship was entered into with all due forms and ceremonies.

Not contented with the security against Powhatan's hostility which the possession of his beloved daughter afforded, the colonial governor, Sir Thomas Dale, sought yet another hostage from the king; and in 1614 sent John Rolfe and Ralph Hamor to his court for this purpose.

The aged chief received them with courtesy and kindness, and appeared pleased and gratified at the accounts which they gave him of Pocahontas' satisfaction with her new alliance, and the religion and customs of the English. When the purpose of the mission was made known to him, which was no other than the obtaining possession of his youngest daughter, upon pretext of marrying her nobly, Powhatan gravely refused compliance. He would never trust himself, he said, in the power of the English; and therefore, if he should send away his child, whom he now loved as his life, and beyond all his other numerous offspring, it would be never again to behold her. "My brother," he added, "hath a pledge, one of my daughters, which so long as she lives shall be sufficient, when she dies he shall have another: I hold it not a brotherly part to desire to bereave me of my two children at once."

Pocahontas was carefully educated in the Christian religion, which she appeared sincerely to embrace. She nourished the warmest affection for her husband,—upon his part faithfully returned; and what with these new ties,

and the enlarged ideas attendant upon education and intercourse with intelligent Europeans, she seemed entirely to lose all desire of associating with her own people.

Rolfe and his wife sailed for England in 1616, and reached Plymouth on the 12th of June. Great interest was excited by their arrival, both at court and among many people of distinction. Captain Smith prepared an address to the queen upon this occasion, setting forth in quaint, but touching language, the continued kindness and valuable services received by himself and the colony at large from Pocahontas. He commended her to his royal mistress, as "the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first Virginian euer spake English, or had a childe in marriage by an Englishman, a matter surely worthy a Princes vnderstanding."

When Smith met with his preserver at Branford, where she was staying with her husband after her arrival in England, his demeanor did not at first satisfy her. Etiquette, and the restraints of English customs, prevented him perhaps from making such demonstration of affection as she had expected from her adopted father. "After a modest salutation," he says, "without any word, she turned herself about, obscured her face as not seeming well contented; and in that humour, her husband, with diuers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting myself to haue writ shee could speake English."

This pique, or whatever emotion it may have been, soon passed off, and she began to converse freely upon old times and scenes. She said she would always call Smith her father, that he should call her child, and ever consider her as his "Countrieman." It seems that she had been told that he was dead, and only learned the truth on reaching England. Powhatan had been anxious to get intelligence of his old rival, and specially commissioned an Indian of his council, named Uttomatomakkin, whom he sent over

to England, to find out Captain Smith; to see the Englishmen's God, their queen, and their prince; and to ascertain the number of the country's inhabitants.

This last direction he endeavored to perform by carrying a stick with him, and making a notch for every man he saw, "but he was quickly wearie of that task."

Captain Argall, Rolfe, and others, having been furnished with an outfit for Virginia, in 1617, Pocahontas (known as Rebecca, since her baptism and conversion,) was about to rēvisit her native country, but was taken suddenly ill, and died at Gravesend. "Shee made not more sorrow for her vnexpected death, than ioy to the beholders to heare and see her make so religious and godly an end." She left one child, Thomas Rolfe, who afterwards resided in Virginia, and from whom many families in that state still trace their origin. The celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke, was one of his descendants.

At Jamestown, Argall found matters in a bad state. Little was attended to but the raising of tobacco, which was seen growing in the streets and market place. The savages had become bold and familiar, "as frequent in the colonists' houses as themselues, whereby they were become expert in the English arms." They broke out, in some instances, into open murder and robbery, but the old chief Opechancanough, when redress was demanded, disclaimed all knowledge of or participation in the outrages.

The venerable Powhatan died in April, of the year 1618, and was succeeded by his second brother Itopatin. The new king, as well as the formidable Opechancanough, seemed desirous of continuing at peace with the whites. Despite his protestations of friendship, and renewal of solemn leagues and covenants, the old king of Pamaunky was still held in sore suspicion, and it is plain that Indian power, if roused against the colony, was growing formidable. The historian expresses his amazement "to understand

how strangely the Saluages had beene taught the use of arms, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling pieces, and our men rooting in the ground about Tobacco like Swine."

John Pory, secretary of the colony, undertook a settlement on the eastern shore in 1621. Namenacus, king of Pamunkey, visited him, and expressed his good-will in style characteristic of Indian metaphor. Baring his breast, says Pory, he asked "if we saw any deformity vpon it, we told him, No; No more, said he, is the inside, but as sincere and pure; therefore come freely to my Countrie and welcome." The English were accompanied by Thomas Salvage as interpreter; a youth who, sixteen years before, had been left with Powhatan for the purpose of acquiring the Indian language, and who afterwards proved of great service to the colony.

When the party reached the dwelling of Namenacus and his brother Wamanato, they were most hospitably received and entertained. Boiled oysters were set before them in a "brasse Kettle as bright without as within," and the alliance was cemented by exchange of presents. Wamanato promised to keep what he had received "whilst he lived, and burie them with him being dead. Hee much wondered at our Bible," proceeds Pory, "but much more to heare it was the law of our God, and the first Chapter of Genesis expounded of Adam and Eve, and simple marriage; to which he replied he was like Adam in one thing, for he neuer had but one wife at once; but he, as all the rest, seemed more willing of other discourses they better vnderstood."

CHAPTER V.

THE VIRGINIA MASSACRES OF 1622, AND OF 1641 (OR 1644)—DEATH OF OPECHANCANOUGH.

THE spring of 1622 was memorable for a deep-laid and partially-successful plot, attributed in no small measure to the contrivance of Opechancanough, for the extermination of the English colony. The settlers had come to look upon the Indians with a mixture of condescension and contempt; they admitted them freely into their houses; suffered them to acquire the use of English weapons; and took little or no precautions against an outbreak. The plantations and villages of the whites were widely separated and ill-protected, offering an easy opportunity for a sudden and concerted attack.

No suspicions whatever were entertained of any hostile intent upon the part of the savages until just before the massacre commenced, and then there was neither time nor opportunity to convey the intelligence to the distant settlements. The plot was so arranged that upon a day appointed, the 22d of March, the Indians spread themselves throughout the settlements, and, going into the houses, or joining the laborers in the field, on pretence of trade, took the first opportunity to kill those with whom they were communicating, by a blow from behind.

No less than three hundred and forty-seven of the English perished, the most extensive massacre at any one spot being that in Martin's Hundred, only seven miles from Jamestown. The savages spared not their best friends, with whom they had held amicable intercourse for years, but availed themselves of that very intimacy to carry out their bloody design with the greater secrecy and impunity. One only showed signs of relenting. "The slaughter had been universall if God had not put it into the

heart of an Indian, who lying in the house of one Pace, was urged by another Indian, his brother, that lay with him the night before, to kill Pace as he should do Perry, which was his friend, being so commanded from their king."

Instead of complying, he rose, and made known to his host the plan of the next day's attack. Pace carried the intelligence to Jamestown with the utmost expedition, and the caution was spread as far as possible. Wherever the Indians saw the English upon their guard, no attempt was made upon them, even where there was a gross disparity in numbers. One of Smith's old guard, Nathaniel Causie, after receiving a severe wound, seized an axe, and put those to flight who had set upon him. In another instance, two men repelled the attack of sixty savages, and a Mr. Baldwin, at Warraskoyack, defended his house and its inmates single handed, the Indians being unwilling to stand his fire. Women, children, and unarmed men; all who could be taken unawares, were murdered, and their bodies hacked and mutilated. No tie of friendship or former favor proved strong enough to stay the hand of the remorseless foe. A Mr. Thorp, who had shown every kindness to the Indians, and especially to the king, was one of the victims, his "dead corps being abused with such spight and scorne as is unfit to be heard with ciuill eares." He had formerly built a convenient house for the sachem, "after the English fashion, in which he took such pleasure, especially in the locke and key, which he soe admired as locking and vnlocking his doore a hundred times a day, he thought no device in the world comparable to it."

It was supposed that the motive which operated most forcibly upon Opechancanough, in urging him to these enormities, was the death of Nemattanow, one of his favorites, styled "Jack of the Feather, because hee commonly was most strangely adorned with them." This Indian was shot, about a fortnight before the massacre, for the mur-

der of a man named Morgan, whom he enticed from home on pretence of trade.

Little active efforts were made to revenge the uprising of the Indians. After the bloody day in March, no general engagement took place between the English and the savages until the ensuing autumn, when an army of three hundred colonists marched to Nandsamund, and laid waste the country.

The bitterest animosity prevailed for many years between the rival claimants to the country—the Indians and the pale faces, who were supplanting them, insidiously, or by open warfare. The old chief Opechancanough remained long a thorn in the sides of the colonists; and, as late as 1641, nine years after the conclusion of a settled peace, he organized a conspiracy, which resulted in the destruction of even a larger number of the whites than fell in the massacre of 1622. The time of the second uprising is fixed, by some, three years later than the date above mentioned.

After that event, the war was pursued with the energy that the dangerous circumstances of the colony required; and the aged chief, falling into the hands of the English, was carried captive to Jamestown. Regard to his infirmities and age restrained the authorities from showing him indignity or unkindness, but he was shot by a private soldier, in revenge, as is supposed, for some former injury. Although so enfeebled by the weight of years as to be utterly helpless, and unable even to raise his eyelids without assistance, the venerable chief still maintained his dignity and firmness; and, just before his death, rebuked Berkley, the governor, for suffering his people to crowd around and gaze upon him.

It is said, by some historians, that he was not a native of Virginia, but that he was reputed among his subjects and the neighboring tribes, to have been formerly a king over a nation far to the south-west.

CHAPTER VI.

SMITH'S ACCOUNT OF THE NUMBERS, APPEARANCE, AND HABITS OF THE INDIANS.

"* * * * To the door
The red man slowly drags the enormous bear,
Slain in the chestnut thicket, or flings down
The deer from his strong shoulders."—BRYANT.

VIRGINIA, like every other division of the eastern coast of North America, was but thinly inhabited when the white settlements first commenced. As hunting formed the chief means of subsistence to the natives during a considerable portion of the year, it was impracticable for them to live closely congregated. There were computed to be, within sixty miles of the settlement of Jamestown, some five thousand Indians, of whom not quite one-third were men serviceable in war. The lower portion of the Powhatan or James' river, below the falls, passed through the country of the great king and tribe who bore the same name: among the mountains at its source dwelt the Monacans. The great nations were sub-divided into a number of smaller tribes, each subject to its own Werowance, or king.

The stature and general appearance of different races among them presented considerable discrepancy. Of the Sasquesahanocks, Smith says: "Such great and well-proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like giants to the English.—For their language, it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in a vault." One of their chief Werowances measured three-quarters of a yard about the calf of his leg, "and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hayre, the one side, was long, the other shore close, with a ridge like a cock's combe."

These people were dressed in bear and wolf-skins: "some have Cassacks made of Beare's heads and skinnes, that a man's head goes through the skinnes neck, and the eares of the Beare fastened to his shoulders, the nose and teeth hanging downe his breast, another Beare's face split behind him, and at the end of the nose hung a paw.—One had the head of a Wolfe hanging in a chaine for a iewell; his tobacco pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carued with a Bird, a Deere, or some such devise at the great end, sufficient to beat out ones braines."

Further to the South, upon the Rappahanock, and other adjacent rivers, dwelt an inferior people, of small stature. The Monacans, Mannahocks, Sasquesahanocks, and other tribes, which environed the Powhatan country, were so dissimilar in their language, that they could only communicate by interpretation.

The clothing of all these Indians consisted principally of skins, dressed with or without the hair, according to the season. Occasionally would be seen a mantle neatly and thickly covered with feathers, so fastened as to appear like a natural growth; but many of the savages contented themselves with very simple and primitive habiliments, woven from grass and leaves. Tattooing was common, especially among the women, and the red powdered root of the pocone, mixed with oil to the consistency of paint, served to satisfy their barbaric taste for fancifully coloring the body. He was "the most gallant who was the most monstrous to behold." Their ears were generally bored, and pendants of copper and other ornaments were attached. "Some of their men weare in those holes a small green and yellow coloured snake, near half a yarde in length, which, crawling and lapping herself about his necke, oftentimes would familiarly kisse his lips."

Their wigwams were much after the usual fashion, warm, but smoky, and stood in the midst of the planting grounds

where they raised their beans, corn, and pompions. About the dwellings of some, mulberry-trees were planted, and fine groves of the same grew naturally in various parts of the country. The English made an attempt to raise silk here, "and surely the wormes prospered excellent well till the master-workman fell sicke. During which time they were eaten with rats." To effect a clearing, the custom of the natives was to girdle the trees by bruising and burning the bark near the root; and, in the ensuing year, the soil was rudely loosened for the reception of the seed.

During a great part of the year they were obliged to resort to the natural productions of the forest, sea, and rivers for their support; and, as their diet varied with the season, "even as the deere and wild beasts, they seemed fat and leane, strong and weake." In the spring they relied chiefly upon fish and small game; in summer, before the green corn was ready for use, they were obliged to eke out a subsistence with roots, acorns, and shell-fish. Some species of acorns, besides being useful as food, furnished an oil with which the natives anointed their heads and joints.

Smith enumerates many of the wild fruits and game which were sought by the Indians, describing them in quaint and forcible language. It is singular to observe how the original Indian names of plants and animals have been altered and corrupted on their adoption by the English. All will recognize the "putchamin," whose "fruit is like a medlar; it is first greene, then yellow, then red, when it is ripe; if it be not ripe, it will draw a mans mouth awry, with much torment." Broth or bread made from the "Chechinquamin," (Chincopin), was considered a great dainty.

With a slight change of orthography, the "Aroughcun, a beast much like a badger, but which useth to live on trees as squirrels doe," becomes familiar, as do also the 'Opassum" and "Mussascus."

Among the fish, a kind of ray attracted the worthy captain's special admiration, being "so like the picture of St. George his dragon as possible can be, except his legs and wings."

The Indians fished with nets, woven with no little skill; with hooks of bone; with the spear; and with arrows attached to lines. For other game, the principal weapon was the bow and arrow. The arrows were generally headed with bone or flint, but sometimes with the spur of a turkey or a bird's bill. It is astonishing how the stone arrow-heads, which are, to this day, found scattered over our whole country, could have been shaped, or attached to the reed with any degree of firmness. Smith says that a small bone was worn constantly at the "bracert" for the purpose of manufacturing them—probably to hold the flint while it was chipped into shape by another stone—and that a strong glue, obtained by boiling deer's horns and sinews, served to fasten them securely. Very soon after intercourse with Europeans commenced, these rude implements were superseded by those of iron.

Deer were hunted with most effect, by driving in large companies, dispersed through the woods. When a single hunter undertook the pursuit, it was usual for him to disguise himself in the skin of a deer, thrusting his arm through the neck into the head, which was so stuffed as to resemble that of the living animal. Thus accoutred he would gradually approach his prey, imitating the motions of a deer as nearly as possible, stopping occasionally, and appearing to be occupied in licking his body, until near enough for a shot.

In war these Indians pursued much the same course as the other eastern nations. On one occasion, at Mattapanient, they entertained Smith and his companions with a sham fight, one division taking the part of Monacans, and the other of Powhatans. After the first discharge of

arrows, he says, "they gave such horrible shouts and screeches as so many infernall hell-hounds could not haue made them more terrible." During the whole performance, "their actions, voyces, and gestures, were so strained to the height of their quality and nature, that the strangenesse thereof made it seeme very delightful." Their martial music consisted of the discordant sounds produced by rude drums and rattles.

NEW ENGLAND INDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

CONDUCT OF EARLY VOYAGERS—ARRIVAL OF THE MAY-FLOWER—SAMOSET—TISQUANTUM—MASSASOIT—WESTON'S COLONY—CAUNBITANT'S CONSPIRACY—TRADE IN FIRE-ARMS—THOMAS MORTON—DEATH OF MASSASOIT AND ALEXANDER, AND ACCESSION OF PHILIP.

"Erewhile, where yon gay spires their brightness rear,
Trees waved, and the brown hunter's shouts were loud
Amid the forest; and the bounding deer
Fled at the glancing plume, and the gaunt wolf yelled near."

BRYANT.

IT is lamentable to reflect that in the primitive dealings between the venturous Europeans and aborigines of America, the kindly welcome and the hospitable reception were the part of the savage, and treachery, kidnapping and murder too frequently that of the civilized and nominally Christian visitor.

It appears to have been matter of common custom among these unscrupulous adventurers to seize by force or fraud on the persons of their simple entertainers, and to carry them off as curiosities to the distant shores of Europe. Columbus, with kindly motives, brought several of the West Indian natives to the Spanish court;—others, whom his follower Pinzon had kidnapped, he restored to their friends. Cabot, in his memorable expedition, followed the same example, and the early French discov-

erers were peculiarly culpable in this respect. Most atrocious of all was the conduct of Thomas Hunt, who, in 1614, at Monhigon, enticed twenty-four of these unfortunate people on board his vessel, and carried them to Malaga, as slaves—an inhuman piece of treachery, to which the English were probably indebted for much of the subsequent hostilities evinced by the Indians of New England.

On the 6th of September, 1620, the May-Flower, freighted with forty-one adventurous enthusiasts, the germ of a western empire, sailed from Plymouth in England; and on the 9th of the following November arrived on the barren and inclement shores of Cape Cod. A few days afterwards a reconnoitering party caught sight of a small number of the natives, who, however, fled at their approach. On the 8th of December, a slight and desultory action occurred, the Indians attempting to surprise the Pilgrims by night. They were, however, discomfited and compelled to retreat, leaving, among other trophies, eighteen arrows, "headed with brass, some with harts-horns, and others with eagles' claws."

On the 11th of December (O. S.), memorable in the annals of America, the little band of pilgrims landed, and fixed their first settlement at Plymouth. The Indians, it would appear, looked with evil eyes upon the pious colonists; for, says an old narrator, "they got all the powaws in the country, who, for three days together, in a horid and devilish manner, did curse and execrate them with their conjurations, which assembly and service they held in a dark and dismal swamp. Behold how Satan labored to hinder the gospel from coming into New England."

The appearance of the friendly chief Samoset, at the settlement; his welcome in broken English; his manners, and discourse; are quaintly detailed by the historians of the colony. He had acquired some knowledge of the



INTERVIEW OF SAMOSET WITH THE PILGRIMS.

English language by intercourse with the crews and masters of vessels employed in fishing upon the coast, and readily communicated such information as the settlers required concerning the nature of the country and its inhabitants. He informed them of the manner in which the district where they were located had been depopulated only four years previous, by some incurable disease; a circumstance to which the feeble colony not improbably owed its preservation.

Before the bold and friendly advances made by Samoset, the only communication between the colonists and the original inhabitants had been of a hostile character. The natural fears and jealousy of the savages, and the superstitious horror of the English at the heathenish powwaws and incantations which they witnessed, together with the want of a common language, had kept the little company of adventurers in a state of complete isolation during the whole of the cold and dreary winter that succeeded their arrival.

It was in the month of March that a peaceful communication was established with the natives, through the intervention of Samoset. He introduced, among other of his companions, the noted Tisquantum, or Squanto, who was one of the twenty-four kidnapped by Hunt, at a former period. By his knowledge of the country and coast, and his acquaintance with their language, Squanto became of great service to the colonists, and continued their friend until his death, which took place in 1622, while he was on his passage down the coast, in the capacity of pilot to an expedition fitted out for the purpose of purchasing supplies of corn and other necessaries. Much of romantic interest attaches to the history and adventures of this serviceable Indian, both during his captivity and after his restoration to his own country. Escaping by the assistance of certain kindly-disposed monks, from Spain, where he, with his companions, had been sold in slavery,

he reached England, and was taken into the employment of a London merchant, named Slaney, by whom he was sent as pilot, or in some other capacity, to various places on the eastern coast.

He was brought back to Patuxet, the Indian name of the country in which the pilgrims first landed, by Captain Thomas Dermer, who sailed in the employ of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, during the summer preceding the arrival of the May-Flower. After his introduction by Samoset, he remained with his new allies, instructing them in the mode of raising corn, to which they were strangers; in the best methods of fishing; and making himself of inestimable service.

By the friendly influence of Squanto and Samoset, who acted as interpreters, a league of amity and mutual protection was effected between the colony and the powerful sachem Massasoit, father of the still more celebrated Philip. Massasoit's head-quarters were at Mount Hope, on Narragansett bay, overlooking the present town of Bristol; a striking feature in a landscape of remarkable beauty, and commanding from its summit a magnificent prospect of island, bay and ocean. His authority extended over all the Indian tribes living in the vicinity of the Plymouth colony, and he held an uncertain but influential sway over portions of other nations far into the interior.

In the month of July, 1621, some of the principal inhabitants of the settlement, among others, Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, went on an embassy to the court of this chief, as well to observe his power and resources as to renew the amicable treaties before entered into. They carried such attractive ornaments and apparel as would please the eye of a savage.

They were accompanied by Squanto; and although their entertainment, both as respects food and lodgings, was but sorry, yet they were received in a spirit of friendliness

They obtained much useful information concerning the surrounding tribes, and also learned the power and numbers of the Narragansetts.

The ship Fortune arrived at Plymouth, in the month of November, bringing out thirty-five emigrants: but no provisions for their support; in consequence of which, the colony was not long after greatly distressed by want. To add to their troubles and fears, the Narragansetts sent them a hostile message, expressed by a bundle of arrows tied with a snake skin. The skin was returned filled with bullets, and the governor made the spirited reply—"that, if they loved war rather than peace, they might begin when they would."

The houses were thenceforth inclosed in palings, and every precaution was taken, by watch and ward, to guard against a sudden attack.

During the ensuing year, 1622, two ships were sent over from England by a Mr. Thomas Weston, with a considerable number of colonists; in one of them came "sixty lusty men." A new settlement was formed by them at Wesagusquaset, on Massachusetts Bay, known as Weston's colony.

The dishonesty and wastefulness of these new comers produced very injurious effects upon the welfare of the colony at large. The hostility of the Indians was excited by their depredations, and, if we may believe the old narrations, they were even base enough to circulate among the natives false reports of an intention on the part of the Plymouth authorities to attack them, and forcibly seize their corn and provisions, the time being one of great scarcity.

Weston's men were in possession of a small vessel, in which they proposed to their Plymouth neighbors to undertake an expedition round Cape Cod, for the purpose of trading for supplies from the natives. After two unsuccessful attempts, having been delayed by rough weather, they succeeded in reaching Nauset and Mattachiest, where they

obtained a quantity of corn and beans. It was on this voyage that they lost their guide and interpreter Squanto. He had been a highly useful and faithful coadjutor to the colonists; his only faults being a natural inclination to presume upon his importance in his intercourse with his countrymen. This led him to exalt himself in their eyes by tales of his great influence over the English, and exaggerated reports of their powers and skill. He affirmed that they had the plague buried in the ground, which they could, at pleasure, let loose for the destruction of the Indians. On one occasion he was believed, for some purpose of his own, to have raised a false alarm of an attack by the Narragansetts, accompanied by Massasoit. This sachem became at last so exasperated against Squanto, that, on divers occasions, he sought to put him to death, and the colonists had no small difficulty in preserving their interpreter.

Great rivalry and jealousy existed between Squanto and Hobamak, another friendly Indian, who served the settlers in a similar capacity.

In the year 1623, the people at Weston's plantation, principally, as appears, from their own folly and improvidence, were reduced to a state of extreme misery and destitution. They became scattered in small parties, obtaining a precarious subsistence by gathering shell-fish, and by working for or pilfering from the natives. On one occasion they actually hanged a man for stealing, in order to pacify the Indians; and although it appears probable that he whom they executed was, in reality, guilty, yet they have been accused of sparing the principal offender, as an able-bodied and serviceable member of the community, and hanging, in his stead, an old and decrepid weaver. See "Hudibras" upon this point.

An extensive conspiracy was formed among various tribes of the Massachusetts Indians, and others, extending, as some supposed, even to the inhabitants of the island



TISQUANTUM, OR SQUANTO,

THE GUIDE AND INTERPRETER OF THE COLONISTS.

of Capewack, or Martha's Vineyard, for the purpose of destroying Weston's colony, and perhaps that at Plymouth also. Caunbitant, or Corbitant, one of Massasoit's most distinguished subordinate chiefs, was a prime mover in this plot. He had always entertained hostile feelings towards the English, and regarded their increase and prosperity as of fatal tendency to the welfare of his own people. The design was made known to some of the chief men of Plymouth, by Massasoit, (whom the leaders of the conspiracy had endeavored to draw into their plans,) in gratitude for their having restored him from a dangerous fit of sickness. Having been, as he supposed, at the point of death, he sent for assistance to the colony, and Mr. Edward Winslow and John Hamden, (supposed by some writers to have been the same afterwards so celebrated in English history for his resistance to royal encroachments) with Hobamak as interpreter, were dispatched to his assistance.

In order to check the purposed uprising, Captain Miles Standish, with only eight men, proceeded to Wesagusquaset, and attacking the Indians, in conjunction with Weston's men, overpowered them, killing six of their number; among the rest, the noted and dangerous Wittuwamat. This chief had displayed great boldness and spirit. On the arrival of Standish, he, with others of his company, declared that he was in no wise ignorant of the Englishman's intentions. "'Tell Standish,' said he, 'we know he is come to kill us, but let him begin when he dare.' Not long after, many would come to the fort, and whet their knives before him, with many braving speeches. One amongst the rest was by Wittuwamat's bragging he had a knife that on the handle had a woman's face, but at home I have one that hath killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face upon it, and by and by these two must marry; but this here by and by shall see, and by and by eat but not speake." Of the manner of this In-

dian's death, and that of Peksuot, one of his principal companions, killed by Standish himself in a desperate hand to hand struggle, Winslow says: "But it is incredible how many wounds these two panieses received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last." Wittuwamat had often expressed great contempt of the English for their want of fortitude, declaring that "they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men." A brother of this chief, only eighteen years of age, they hanged.

The Weston plantation was, however, broken up, the survivors, much reduced in numbers by sickness and want, setting sail in their vessel for the eastward, to join the fishing squadron on the coast: as the old historian has it, "here see the effects of pride and vain-glory." Thomas Weston himself, after a singular series of misfortunes, only arrived at Plymouth to learn the disastrous fate of his colony.

The system of working the land in common was this year abandoned by the Plymouth colonists, and a portion of land set apart to each man; a change which produced the most favorable results.

In the course of a few years from the formation of the Plymouth colony, the Indians, in spite of a royal proclamation forbidding the traffic, began to supply themselves with fire-arms and ammunition, the use of which they acquired with singular facility. The trade for these dangerous articles first commenced upon the eastern coast, where they were brought by English, French and Dutch fishing vessels, and was further extended into the interior in 1628, by one Thomas Morton, a notable contemner of godliness, and long a thorn in the side of the sober colonists. Besides his capital offence of teaching the Indians the use of fire-arms, and driving a profitable trade with them in these deadly weapons, he became, as Morton has it, "a lord of

misrule," with a set of disorderly companions who had been brought out in the same ship with him. They spent what they gained by unlawful trade in "vainly quaffing and drinking both wine and strong liquors to great excess—setting up a May-pole, drinking and dancing about it, and frisking about it like so many fairies, or furies rather." This May-pole was cut down by Endicott, and Morton was seized and sent to England, where he wrote an "infamous and scurrilous book '(The New Canaan),' against many godly and chiefmen of the country." In 1633, a year memorable for the first English settlement on the Connecticut, by William Holmes, in spite of the opposition of the Dutch, a "pestilent fever" carried off many, both of the colonists and Indians thereabout.

Morton, in his "New England's Memorial," says that "It is to be observed that, the spring before this sickness, there was a numerous company of flies, which were like, for bigness, unto wasps or bumble-bees; they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made the woods ring of them, and ready to deafen the hearers." The Indians prophesied sickness from this sign.

No very serious hostilities occurred between the Plymouth colonists and the natives, from the period of which we have been speaking, until the year 1637, memorable for the extirpation of the Pequots. The causes and conduct of this campaign, marked as it was by the most savage ferocity on the part of both Indians and English, will be detailed in a succeeding chapter.

In the year 1639, Massasoit, or, as he is generally styled at this period, Woosamequen, brought his eldest son Mooanam, otherwise called Wamsutta, to the court at Plymouth, and solemnly renewed the former league of peace and amity with the colony.

After the death of the friendly and powerful sachem, his sons Wamsutta and Metacomet continued their profession of good-will towards the English. About 1656, they presented themselves to the court at Plymouth, and, by their own request, received English names. Wamsutta was denominated Alexander, and Metacomet, Philip, long after a name of terror to the colonies.

In 1662, Alexander, having been suspected of being engaged with the Narragansetts in plans hostile to the English settlers, was taken by surprise, and forcibly carried to Plymouth. This indignity is said so to have chafed his proud spirit, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died shortly after. Contradictory reports have been handed down to us concerning the manner of his treatment during this brief captivity, and the circumstances attending his death.

Shortly after this event, Philip, now sachem of Pocanoket, came to the court at Plymouth, with renewed acknowledgments of subjection to the king of England, and promises to fulfil all engagements theretofore entered into by himself, his father and brother. He covenanted, moreover, not to sell any of his lands to strangers without the knowledge and consent of the authorities at Plymouth.



THE COLONISTS GOING TO CHURCH ARMED

DURING THE PERIOD OF THE EARLY INDIAN WARS.

CHAPTER II.

THE NARRAGANSETTS—THE PEQUOTS—MURDER OF STONE AND OLDHAM—ENDICOTT'S EXPEDITION—THE PEQUOT WAR—DESTRUCTION OF THE PEQUOT FORT—THE TRIBE DISPERSED AND SUBDUED.

"Dark as the frost-nipped leaves that strew the ground,
The Indian hunter here his shelter found;
Here cut his bow, and shaped his arrows true,
Here built his wigwam and his bark canoe,
Speared the quick salmon leaping up the fall,
And slew the deer without the rifle ball;
Here his young squaw her cradl'ing-tree would choose,
Singing her chant to hush her swart papoose;
Here stain her quills, and string her trinkets rude,
And weave her warrior's wampum in the wood."

BRAINARD.

THE islands and western shores of the beautiful bay which still bears their name were, at the time of the first European settlement, in the possession of the great and powerful tribe of the Narragansetts. Their dominions extended thirty or forty miles to the westward, as far as the country of the Pequots, from whom they were separated by the Pawcatuck river.

Their chief sachem was the venerable Canonicus, who governed the tribe, with the assistance and support of his nephew Miantonimo. The celebrated Roger Williams, the founder of the Rhode Island and Providence plantations, always noted for his kindness, justice and impartiality towards the natives, was high in favor with the old chief, and exercised an influence over him, without which his power might have been fatally turned against the English. Canonicus, he informs us, loved him as a son to the day of his death.

Mr. Williams had been obliged to leave the colony at

the eastward, in consequence of his religious opinions, which did not coincide with those so strictly interwoven with the government and policy of the puritans. He was a man of whose enterprise and wisdom the state which he first settled is justly proud, and whose liberal and magnanimous disposition stands out in striking relief when compared with the intolerant and narrow-minded prejudices of his contemporaries.

Miantonimo is described as a warrior of a tall and commanding appearance; proud and magnanimous; "subtil and cunning in his contrivements;" and of undaunted courage.

The Pequots and Mohegans, who formed but one tribe, and were governed during the early period of English colonization by one sachem, appear to have emigrated from the west not very long before the first landing of Europeans on these shores. They were entirely disconnected with the surrounding tribes, with whom they were engaged in continual hostilities, and were said to have reached the country they then inhabited from the north. They probably formed a portion of the Mohican or Mohegan nation on the Hudson, and arrived at the sea-coast by a circuitous route, moving onward in search of better hunting grounds, or desirous of the facilities for procuring support offered by the productions of the sea.

In various warlike incursions they had gained a partial possession of extensive districts upon the Connecticut river, and from them the early Dutch settlers purchased the title to the lands they occupied in that region.

In the year 1634, one Captain Stone, a trader from Virginia, of whom the early narrators give rather an evil report, having put into the Connecticut river in a small vessel, was killed, together with his whole crew, by a party of Indians whom he had suffered to remain on board his vessel.

Two years later, a Mr. John Oldham was murdered at

Block Island, (called Manisses in the Indian tongue,) by a body of natives. They were discovered in possession of the vessel, and, endeavoring to make their escape, were most of them drowned.

The Narragansetts and Pequots both denied having participated in this last outrage, and, as respects Stone and his companions, although the Pequots afterwards acknowledged that some of their people were the guilty parties, yet they averred that it was done in retaliation for the murder of one of their own sachems by the Dutch, denying that they knew any distinction between the Dutch and English.

To revenge the death of Oldham, an expedition was fitted out from Massachusetts, with the avowed determination of destroying all the male inhabitants of Block Island, and of enforcing heavy tribute from the Pequots. Those engaged in the undertaking, under the command of Endicott, landed on the island, ravaged the corn-fields, and burned the wigwams of the inhabitants; but the islanders succeeded in concealing themselves in the thickets, so that few were killed. Endicott thence proceeded to the Pequot country, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Gardiner, commander of the garrison at Saybrook, who told him that the consequence would only be to "raise a hornet's nest about their ears."

Disembarking near the mouth of the Thames, the adventurers were surrounded by a large body of savages, mostly unarmed, who questioned them of their purposes with much surprise and curiosity. The English demanded the murderers, whom they alledged to be harbored there, or their heads. The Indians replied that their chief sachem, Sassacus, was absent, and sent or pretended to send parties in search of the persons demanded. Endicott, impatient of delay, and suspecting deceit, drove them off, after a slight skirmish, and proceeded to lay waste their

corn-fields and wigwams, destroying their canoes and doing them incalculable mischief.

The same operations were carried on the next day, upon the opposite bank of the river, after which the party set sail for home.

The effect of procedures like these, was such as might have been expected. The hostility of the Pequots towards the whites was from this period implacable.

For several years the tribe had been engaged in a desultory war with the Narragansetts, arising from a quarrel, in 1632, respecting the boundary of their respective domains. Sassacus at once perceived the necessity or policy of healing this breach, and procuring the assistance of his powerful neighbors in the anticipated struggle. He therefore sent ambassadors to Canonicus, charged with proposals of treaty, and of union against the usurping English.

A grand council of the Narragansett sachems was called, and the messengers, according to Morton, "used many pernicious arguments to move them thereunto, as that the English were strangers, and began to overspread their country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase;" that they need not "come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their cattle, and lie in ambush for them," all with little danger to themselves.

The Narragansetts hesitated, and would not improbably have acceded to the proposals but for the intervention and persuasion of their friend Roger Williams. His influence, combined with the hope, so dear to an Indian heart, of being revenged upon their old adversaries, finally prevailed. Miantonimo, with a number of other chiefs and warriors, proceeded to Boston; was received with much parade; and concluded a treaty of firm alliance with the English, stipulating not to make peace with the Pequots, without their assent.

Meantime, during this same year (1637), the Pequots had commenced hostilities by attacking the settlers on the Connecticut. They lay concealed about the fort at Saybrook, ready to seize any of the little garrison who should be found without the walls.

In several instances they succeeded in making captives, whom they tortured to death with their usual savage cruelty. Among the rest, a "godly young man of the name of Butterfield," was taken, and roasted alive.

The boldness, and even temerity of the few occupants of the fort, with these horrors staring them in the face, is surprising. Gardiner, their governor, on one occasion, exasperated a body of Indians who had come forward for a species of parley, by mocking, daring, and taunting them in their own style of irony and vituperation.

The colonists appear to have been even more horror-stricken and enraged at the blasphemous language of their wild opponents, than at their implacable cruelty. When they tortured a prisoner, they would bid him call upon his God, and mock and deride him if he did so, in a manner not unlike that recorded in the case of a more illustrious sufferer.

They told Gardiner that they had "killed Englishmen, and could kill them like musquitoes;" and that there was one among them who, "if he could kill one more Englishman, would be equal with God."

Joseph Tilly, commander of a trading vessel, a man described as "brave and hardy, but passionate and wilful," going on shore, incautiously, and against the advice of Gardiner, was taken by the savages, and tortured to death in the most lingering and cruel manner, being partially dismembered, and slowly burned to death by lighted splinters thrust into his flesh. His conduct in this extremity excited the lasting admiration of his tormentors; for, like one of their own braves, he endured all with silent fortitude.

The Indians were accustomed to imitate and deride the cries and tokens of pain which they usually elicited from the whites, as being unworthy of men, and tolerable only in women or children.

In April of this year (1637), an attack was made upon the village of Wethersfield, by a body of Pequots, assisted or led by other Indians of the vicinity, whose enmity had been excited by some unjust treatment on the part of the white inhabitants. Three women and six men of the colonists, were killed, and cattle and other property destroyed or carried off to a considerable extent. Two young girls, daughters of one Abraham Swain, were taken and carried into captivity. Their release was afterwards obtained by some Dutch traders, who inveigled a number of Pequots on board their vessel, and threatened to throw them into the sea if the girls were not delivered up. During the time that these prisoners were in the power of the Indians, they received no injury, but were treated with uniform kindness, a circumstance which, with many others of the same nature, marks the character of the barbarians as being by no means destitute of the finer feelings of humanity.

The settlers on the Connecticut now resolved upon active operations against the Pequot tribe. Although the whole number of whites upon the river, capable of doing military service, did not exceed three hundred, a force of ninety men was raised and equipped. Captain John Mason, a soldier by profession, and a bold, energetic man, was appointed to the command of the expedition, and the Reverend Mr. Stone, one of the first preachers at Hartford, who had accompanied his people across the wilderness, at the time of the first settlement of that town, undertook the office of chaplain—a position of far greater importance and responsibility, in the eyes of our forefathers, than is accorded to it at the present day.

Letters were written to the authorities of Massachusetts, requesting assistance, inasmuch as the war was owing, in no small measure, to the ill-advised and worse-conducted expedition sent forth, as we have before described, by that colony. The required aid was readily furnished, and a considerable body of men, under the command of Daniel Patrick, was sent to the Narragansett sachem, to procure his cöoperation, and afterwards to join the forces of Mason.

The little army was further increased by the addition of a party of Indians, led by a chief afterwards so celebrated in the annals of the colony, as to deserve more than a casual mention upon the occasion of this, his first introduction to the reader.

Uncas, a sachem of the Mohegans, whom we have before mentioned as forming a portion of the Pequot tribe, had, some time previous to the events which we are now recording, rebelled against the authority of Sassacus, his superior sachem, to whom he was connected by ties of affinity and relationship.

He is described as having been a man of great strength and courage, but grasping, cunning, and treacherous, and possessed of little of that magnanimity which, though counterbalanced by faults peculiar to his race, distinguished his implacable foe, Miantonimo the Narragansett.

With his followers, a portion of whom were Mohegans, and the rest, as is supposed, Indians from the districts on the Connecticut, who had joined themselves to his fortunes, Uncas now made common cause with the whites against his own nation. Gardiner, the commandant at Saybrook, to test his fidelity, dispatched him in pursuit of a small party of hostile Indians, whose position he had ascertained. Uncas accomplished his mission, killing a portion of them, and returning with one prisoner. This captive the Indians were allowed by the English to torture to death, and they proceeded to pull him asunder, fastening one leg to

a post, and tying a rope to the other, of which they laid hold. Underhill, elsewhere characterized as a "bold, bad, man," had, on this occasion, the humanity to shorten the torment of the victim by a pistol-shot.

The plan of campaign adopted by Mason, after much debate, was to sail for the country of the Narragansetts, and there disembarking, to come upon the enemy by land from an unexpected direction.

Canonicus and Miantonimo received the party in a friendly manner, approving the design, but proffering no assistance.

Intelligence was here received of the approach of Captain Patrick and his men from Massachusetts, but Mason determined to lose no time by waiting for their arrival, lest information of the movement should in the meantime reach the camp of the Pequots. The next day, therefore, which was the 4th of June, the vessels, in which the company had arrived from Saybrook, set sail for Pequot river, manned by a few whites and Indians, while the main body proceeded on their march across the country. About sixty Indians, led by Uncas, were of the party.

A large body of Narragansetts and Nehantics attended them on their march, at one time to the number, as was supposed, of nearly five hundred. In Indian style, they made great demonstration of valor and determination; but as they approached the head-quarters of the terrible tribe that had held them so long in awe, their hearts began to fail. Many slunk away, and of those who still hung in the rear, none but Uncas and Wequash, a Nehantic sachem, were ready to share in the danger of the first attack.

The Pequot camp was upon the summit of a high rounded hill, still known as Pequot hill, in the present town of Groton, and was considered by the Indians as impregnable. The people of Sassacus had seen the Eng-

lish vessels pass by, and supposed that danger was for the present averted. After a great feast and dance of exultation at their safety and success, the camp was sunk in sleep and silence. Mason and his men, who had encamped among some rocks near the head of Mystic river, approached the Pequot fortification a little before day, on the 5th of June.

The alarm was first given by the barking of a dog, followed by a cry from some one within, of "Owanux, Owanux"—the Indian term for Englishmen—upon which the besiegers rushed forward to the attack.

The fort was, as usual, inclosed with thick palisades, a narrow entrance being left, which was barred by a pile of brushwood. Breaking through this, Mason and his companions fell upon the startled Pequots, and maintained for some time an uncertain hand to hand conflict, until, all order being lost, he came to the savage determination to fire the wigwams. This was done, and the dry materials of which these rude dwellings were composed blazed with fearful rapidity.

The warriors fought desperately, but their bow-strings snapped from the heat, and the Narragansetts, now coming up, killed all who attempted to escape. The scene within was horrible beyond description. The whole number destroyed (mostly by the flames) was supposed to be over four hundred, no small portion of which consisted of women and children.

The spirit of the times cannot be better portrayed than by citing the description of this tragedy given by Morton: "At this time it was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same; and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands, and

give them so speedy a victory over so proud, insulting and blasphemous an enemy." Dr. Increase Mather, in much the same vein, says: "This day we brought six hundred Indian souls to hell."

In looking back upon this massacre, although much allowance must be made for the rudeness of the age, and the circumstances of terror and anxiety which surrounded the early settlers, yet we must confess that here, as on other occasions, they exhibited the utmost unscrupulousness as to the means by which a desired end should be accomplished.

The loss of the attacking party in this engagement was trifling in the extreme, only two of their number being killed, and about twenty wounded. Captain Patrick with his soldiers from Massachusetts, did not reach the scene of action in time to take part in it—Underhill, however, with twenty men, was of the party.

The result of this conflict was fatal to the Pequots as a nation. After a few unavailing attempts to revenge their wrongs, they burned their remaining camp, and commenced their flight to the haunts of their forefathers at the westward.

They were closely pursued by the whites and their Indian allies, and hunted and destroyed like wild beasts. The last important engagement was in a swamp at Fairfield, where they were completely overcome. Most of the warriors were slain, fighting bravely to the last, and the women and children were distributed as servants among the colonists or shipped as slaves to the West Indies; "We send the male children," says Winthrop, "to Burmuda, by Mr. William Pierce, and the women and maid children are dispersed about in the towns." It is satisfactory to reflect that these wild domestics proved rather a source of annoyance than service to their enslavers.

Sassacus, Mononotto, and a few other Pequot warriors,

succeeded in effecting their escape to the Mohawks, who, however, put the sachem and most of his companions to death, either to oblige the English or the Narragansetts.

The members of the tribe who still remained in Connecticut, were finally brought into complete subjection. Many of them joined the forces of the now powerful Uncas; others were distributed between the Narragansetts and Mohegans; and no small number were taken and deliberately massacred.

The colonial authorities demanded that all Pequots who had been in any way concerned in shedding English blood should be slain, and Uncas had no small difficulty in retaining his useful allies, and at the same time satisfying the powerful strangers whose patronage and protection he so assiduously courted.

CHAPTER III.

QUARRELS BETWEEN THE NARRAGANSETTS AND MOHEGANS—UNCAS AND MIANTONIMO—THE MOHEGAN LAND CONTROVERSY—SUBSEQUENT CONDITION OF THE PEQUOTS AND MOHEGANS.

A SMALL body of the Pequots made one more futile attempt to settle in their old country; but a company was sent against them, and they were driven off; their provisions were plundered, and their wigwams destroyed.

The destruction of this powerful tribe left a large extent of country unoccupied; to no small portion of which Uncas laid claim by virtue of his relationship to Sassacus. The power and influence of this subtle and warlike chief had become, by this time, vastly extended, not only by treaty and alliance with the Europeans, but by continual addition to the number of his warriors; as many strag-

gling Pequots, and wanderers from other tribes, were eager to join his rising fortunes.

Between him and Miantonimo, old feelings of jealousy, rivalry, and national antipathy were now aroused anew by various acts of petty hostility and mutual treachery. Uncas and his followers succeeded in exciting in the minds of the English a deep and abiding mistrust of the Narragansetts, which Miantonimo, upon repeated citations before the Court at Plymouth, was unable wholly to remove. His wisdom, cautiousness, and sagacity, excited the admiration of all who heard him, but, with all his tact, he failed to convince the authorities of his good faith and innocent intentions.

The animosity of the two chiefs at last broke out into open hostilities. Miantonimo, accompanied, as was computed, by over nine hundred warriors, came suddenly upon Uncas, who was supported by only about half that number of effective followers. Before joining battle, the Mohegan sachem challenged his opponent to single combat, proposing that the vanquished party should, with his men, submit to the victor.

Miantonimo refusing to accede to this proposal, Uncas, according to a preconcerted signal, prostrated himself; and his warriors, discharging a flight of arrows, rushed forward with such impetuosity that, despite the disparity of numbers, they completely routed the Narragansetts, and drove them from the field.

The chief of the invaders was taken prisoner in his flight by Uncas himself, assisted by two other warriors. He had been impeded in his motions by an old corslet, a piece of defensive armor which had been presented to him by an English friend, but which proved fatal to him. Seeing that resistance was hopeless, he seated himself upon the ground, with true Indian stoicism and silence.

Uncas took his prisoner to Hartford, and requested the

advice of the authorities as to what course he should pursue respecting him. They referred the question to the general court of commissioners for New England, which sat at Boston, in September (1643). The court, unwilling to undertake the responsibility of ordering the death of the illustrious captive, submitted the matter to the decision of the clergy, then in high council at the same city. These worthies, less scrupulous than the laity, came to the conclusion that his life must pay the forfeit of his attacks upon Uncas, and his general turbulence, not to mention the fact that he had, in one instance, beaten a follower of a sachem who was allied to the English!

The unfortunate sachem was therefere rēdelivered into the hands of the Mohegans for execution, and two of the English were appointed to attend the proceeding, and see that he was put to death without torture. There is some discrepancy in the accounts as to the place where Miantonimo met his fate, but it appears to have been in the township of Norwich, where a pile of stones was long after pointed out as marking his grave. The manner of his death was this: Uncas, with his brother, Wawequa, and a party of other Indians, accompanied by the two whites, was leading his prisoner along a path, when, at a silent signal from the chief, Wawequa buried his tomahawk in the skull of the captive from behind. It is said that Uncas cut a portion of flesh from the shoulder of his fallen enemy, and eat it, declaring that it was the "sweetest meat he ever eat; it made his heart strong."

The Narragansetts lamented bitterly over the untimely end of their famous and beloved sachem, and complained of the treachery of Uncas, averring that large quantities of wampum had been sent as ransom to the Mohegans, and appropriated by them, regardless of the conditions attending its mission.

Pessacus, a brother of Miantonimo, continued to make

troublesome inroads upon the Mohegan domains, but the English still held Uncas in favor, and warned the Narragansetts that they would support him should he require their aid.

In 1644, the complaints and mutual recriminations of the rival tribes were heard and examined by the commissioners of the colonies, who decided that Pessacus had not proved his charges, and enforced a temporary treaty. This was soon violated by the Narragansetts, who continued their depredations as heretofore; and in the ensuing spring, Pessacus, having done great damage to his opponent by predatory excursions, finally besieged him in a fort on the Thames, where he would probably have reduced him by famine, had not supplies been secretly furnished by certain of the English.

The tyranny and exactions of Uncas over the Pequots who had become subject to him, aroused their indignation; while his treachery towards his own people, and alliance with the whites, secured him the hostility of every neighboring tribe. He was engaged in perpetual quarrels with Ninigret, a celebrated Nehantic sachem; with Sequassen, whose authority at an earlier date extended over the Tunxis tribe, at the westward of the Connecticut; and with the grieved and revengeful Narragansetts.

Whenever these interminable disputes were brought before the court of the New England commissioners, the decisions of that body appear to have favored the Mohegan. Assisted by the counsel of a crafty and subtle Indian, named Foxun or Poxen, who served him in the capacity of chief advocate and adviser, and whose wisdom and sagacity were widely noted, he generally managed to explain away his iniquities; at least so far as to satisfy an audience already prejudiced in his favor. When his crimes were not to be concealed, a reprimand and caution were generally the extent of his punishment.

On the other hand, when suspicions arose against the Nar-

ragansetts, the most prompt and violent proceedings were resorted to: the payment of an immense amount of wampum was exacted; the delivery of hostages from among the principal people of the tribe was demanded; and threats of war and extermination were used to humble and humiliate them.

In September, 1655, a few of the scattered Pequots who had not joined the forces of Uncas, were allowed a resting-place by the commissioners, upon a portion of the south-eastern sea-coast of Connecticut, and their existence as a separate tribe was formally acknowledged.

This little remnant of the crushed and overthrown nation, had been, for some time, under the guidance of two self-constituted sachems, one commonly called Robin Cassinament, a Pequot, and the other Cushawashet, a nephew of Ninigret, known among the English as Hermon Garret.

They had formed small settlements upon the tract now allotted to them, which they were allowed to retain upon payment of tribute, in wampum, to the colonies, and the adoption of a prescribed code of laws. Their governors were to be chosen by the English; and Cushawashet and Cassinament received the first appointment.

It will readily be perceived to what an extent the power and control of the colonists over the affairs of the Indians in their vicinity, had increased, even at this early period. The natives were now glad to settle down under the protection of their masters; to pay yearly tribute as amends for former hostilities; and to hire the lands of which they had been so short a time previous the undisturbed possessors.

It is pitiful to read of the coarse coats, the shovels, the hoes, the knives, and jews-harps, in exchange for which they had parted with their broad lands. Utterly improvident, and incapable of foreseeing, or hopeless of averting the ascendancy of the whites, they yielded to their exactions, and submitted to their dictation.

Sauntering indolently about the settlements, and wasting their energies by excess in the use of the novel means of excitement offered by "strong waters," they lost much of that native pride, dignity, and self-respect which distinguished them when intercourse with foreigners first commenced. Their numbers, which appear to have been grossly exaggerated, even in their most flourishing days, were rapidly diminishing; their game was becoming scarce; and the refinements and comforts of civilization, rude indeed as compared to what now exists, presented to their eyes at the white settlements, only aggravated the consciousness of their own poverty and distress.

The Tunxis and Podunk Indians, who inhabited either side of the Connecticut, in the vicinity of the English settlements; the Quinnipiacs on the sound, where New Haven now stands; the Nehantics, to the eastward of the river; and the feeble Pequot settlement, were subject to, or in effect, under the control of the colonists: Uncas was their "friend and fast ally;" and the Narragansetts, though under suspicion of various treacherous plans, were nominally at peace with the whites, and quelled by the terror of their arms.

This condition of affairs continued, with the exception of the great and final struggle between the colonists and the natives, known as Philip's war—to be detailed in a succeeding article—until the death of Uncas, about the year 1682. He left the title to his extensive domains involved in inextricable confusion. In consequence of deeds and grants from himself and his sons Owenoco and Attawanhood, to various individuals among the white settlers, and for various purposes, the effect of which conveyances were probably unknown to the grantors, numerous contradictory claims arose. The same tracts were made over to different persons; one grant would extend over a large portion of another; and, to crown all, Uncas, in the year 1659, had aliened his whole possessions by deed, regularly witnessed,

to John Mason, of Norwich. This conveyance was evidently intended by the sachem merely to confer a general power as overseer or trustee upon a man whom he considered as friendly to his interests, and whose knowledge would prove a protection against the overreaching of proposed purchasers. According to the Indian understanding of the transaction was the claim of Mason and his heirs, who arrogated to themselves no further interest or authority than that above specified. The Connecticut colony, by virtue of a general deed of "surrender of jurisdiction," obtained from Mason, insisted on an unqualified property in the whole domain.

Owenoco succeeded his father as sachem of the Mohegans, and pursued a similar course to secure his lands, conveying them to the sons of Mason as trustees. His Indian improvidence and intemperance led him to disregard this arrangement, and to give deeds of various tracts included in the trust conveyance, without the knowledge or assent of the overseer. In July, of the year 1704, in order to settle the conflicting claims of the whites and Indians, and to restore to the tribe the portions illegally obtained from them, a royal commission was obtained from England, by some friends of the Mohegans, to examine and settle the disputed questions.

The colony protested against the proceeding, denying the authority of the crown to determine upon the matter, and refused to appear before the commissioners. The conduct of the case being *ex parte*, a decision was given in favor of the Mohegans, restoring them to a vast extent of territory alledged to have been obtained from their sachems when intoxicated, or by other under-hand and illegal courses. From this decree the Connecticut colony appealed, and a new commission was granted, but with no decisive result, and the case remained unsettled for more than half a century from the time of its commencement.

Owenoco lived to an advanced age, becoming, before his death, a helpless mendicant, and subsisting, in company with his squaw, upon the hospitality of the neighboring settlers. His son Cæsar was his successor as sachem.

Ben, the youngest son of Uncas, of illegitimate birth, succeeded Cæsar, to the exclusion of the rightful heir, young Mamohet, a grandson of Owenoco.

Mason now renewed his claims, and, accompanied by his two sons, carried Mamohet to England, that he might present a new petition to the reigning monarch. A new commission was awarded, but both the applicants died before it was made out. When the trial finally came on in 1738, distinguished counsel were employed on both sides, in anticipation of an arduous and protracted contest; but by a singular course of collusion and artifice, which it were too tedious to detail, the decision of 1705, on the first commission, was repealed, and the Connecticut claims supported. This was appealed from by the Masons, and good cause appearing, a new trial was decreed.

Five commissioners, men of note from New York and New Jersey, met at Norwich in the summer of 1743, and the great case brought in auditors and parties in interest from far and near. The claims, and the facts offered in support of them, were strangely intricate and complex: counsel appeared in behalf of four sets of parties, viz: the Connecticut colony; the two claimants of the title of Sachem of the Mohegans, Ben and John, a descendant of the elder branch; and those in possession of the lands in question.

The decree was in favor of the colony, which was sustained on the concluding examination of the case in England. Two of the commissioners dissented. The Mohegans still retained a reservation of about four thousand acres.

Their number reduced to a few hundred; distracted by

the uncertain tenure of their property, and the claims of the rival sachems; mingled with the whites in contentions, the merits of which they were little capable of comprehending; with drunkenness and vice prevalent among them; the tribe was fast dwindling into insignificance. Restrictive laws, forbidding the sale of ardent spirits to the Indians, were then, as now, but of little effect.

Of the celebrated and warlike tribes of the Mohegans and Pequots, only a few miserable families now remain upon their ancient territory. These are mostly of mixed blood, and little of the former character of their race is to be seen in them except its peculiar vices. They are scantily supported by the rents of the lands still reserved and appropriated to their use. A number of the Mohegans removed to the Oneida district, in New York, some years since, but a few still remain near the former head-quarters of their tribe, and individuals among them retain the names of sachems and warriors noted in the early ages of the colonies.

Much interest attaches to the efforts which have been made for the instruction and improvement of this remnant of the Mohegan nation; especially as connected with the biography of Samuel Occum, their native preacher; one of the few Indians who have been brought under the influence of civilization, and have acquired a liberal education.

In reviewing the character and history of these, as of most of the native tribes, and reflecting upon their steady and hopeless decline before the European immigrants, we cannot but feel influenced by contradictory sympathies. Their cruelties strike us with horror; their treachery and vices disgust us; but, with all this, we still may trace the tokens of a great and noble spirit. It is painful to reflect that this has more and more declined as their communion with the whites has become the more intimate. They

have lost their nationality, and with it their pride and self-respect; the squalid and poverty-stricken figures hanging about the miserable huts they inhabit, convey but a faint idea of the picture that the nation presented when in a purely savage state; when the vices of foreigners had not, as yet, contaminated them, nor their superior power and knowledge disheartened them by the contrast.

CHAPTER IV.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

THE INDIANS FURNISHED WITH FIRE-ARMS—SITUATION OF THE COLONISTS—PHILIP'S ACCESSION—HIS TREATIES WITH THE WHITES—HIS TRUE PLANS—EMMISSARIES SENT TO SOGKONATE—CAPTAIN BENJAMIN CHURCH—HIS INTERVIEW WITH AWOSHONKS—MURDER OF JOHN SASSAMON.

THE events of which we shall now proceed to give a brief synopsis, were of more momentous interest, and fraught with more deadly peril to the New England colonies, than aught that had preceded them. The wild inhabitants of the forest had now become far more dangerous opponents than when they relied upon their rude flint-headed arrows, or heavy stone tomahawks, as the only efficient weapons of offence. Governor Bradford, many years before the breaking out of the hostilities which we are about to detail, had given a graphic description of the effect produced upon their deportment and self-confidence by the introduction of European weapons. We quote from Bradford's verse, as rendered in prose in the appendix to Davis' edition of the New England Memorial.

"These fierce natives," says he, "are now so furnished

with guns and muskets, and are so skilled in them, that they keep the English in awe, and give the law to them when they please; and of powder and shot they have such abundance that sometimes they refuse to buy more. Flints, screw-plates, and moulds for all sorts of shot they have, and skill how to use them. They can mend and new stock their pieces as well, almost, as an Englishman."

He describes the advantages which they thus obtained over the whites in the pursuit of game; their own consciousness of power, and boasts that they could, when they pleased, "drive away the English, or kill them;" and finally breaks out into bitter upbraidings against the folly and covetousness of the traders who had supplied them with arms. His forebodings were truly prophetic: "Many," says he, "abhor this practice," (the trade in arms and ammunition,) "whose innocence will not save them if, which God forbid, they should come to see, by this means, some sad tragedy, when these heathen, in their fury, shall cruelly shed our innocent blood."

The English settlements were small, ill defended, and widely scattered. Whoever is acquainted with the rough nature of the New England soil, must at once perceive how necessary it became for the first settlers to select the spots most favorable for cultivation, and what an inhospitable wilderness must have separated their small and ill-protected villages.

The whole number of the European inhabitants of New England, in 1675, when the memorable Indian war broke out, has been computed at about fifty thousand, which would give an effective force of not far from eight thousand men.

It were but wild conjecture to attempt a computation of the number and force of the native tribes who took part in the war. Old historians frequently speak positively, and in round numbers, when enumerating the aborigines;

but, in many instances, we can perceive, with tolerable certainty, that they have been guilty of gross exaggeration, such as the whole circumstances of their intercourse with the savages would naturally lead to.

An enemy whose appearance was sudden and unexpected; who, in secret ambuscade or midnight assault, used every device to increase the terror and bewilderment of their victims, might well be over estimated by those whose all was at stake, and who were waiting in fearful uncertainty as to where the danger lay, or when they should next be called to resist it.

In 1662, Philip, Metacomet or Pometacom, as we have already seen, succeeded his brother Alexander, within a few months of the death of their father, Massasoit. Upon the occasion of his assuming the dignity of sachem over the Wampanoags, there was a great collection of sachems and warriors from all parts of the country, to unite in a feast of rejoicing at Mount Hope, where he held his court.

Although the new chief renewed his treaty with the English, and for nine years after his accession made no open demonstrations of hostility, yet his mind appears from the first to have been aliened from the intruders. Whether from anger at the proceedings attendant on the death of his brother, or from sympathy with his injured allies, the Narragansetts, or that his natural sagacity suggested to him the ruin which must fall upon his people by the spread of the whites; certain it is that his feelings of enmity were nourished and brooded over, long before their final exhibition.

Like his father before him, he never inclined an ear to the teachings of the Christian religion. Mather mentions a signal instance of his contempt for this species of instruction. The celebrated preacher, Eliot, had expounded the doctrines of Christianity, and urged their acceptance upon Philip, with his usual zeal and sincerity; but the

sachem, approaching him, and laying hold of a button on his coat, told him that he cared no more for his Gospel than for that button.

In the year 1671, Philip made grievous complaints of trespasses upon the planting-lands of his people: according to Hubbard, "the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning, had so filled the heart of this savage miscreant with envy and malice against the English, that he was ready to break out into open war against the inhabitants of Plymouth, pretending some trifling injuries done him in his planting-land."

This matter was for the time settled, the complaints not appearing to the colonial authorities to be satisfactorily substantiated. A meeting was brought about, in April, 1671, at Taunton, between Philip, accompanied by a party of his warriors, in war paint and hostile trappings, and commissioners from Massachusetts. The Indian chief, unable to account for the hostile preparations in which he was proved to have been engaged, became confused, and perhaps intimidated. He not only acknowledged himself in the wrong, and that the rebellion originated in the "naughtiness of his own heart," but renewed his submission to the king of England, and agreed to surrender all his English arms to the government of New Plymouth, "to be kept as long as they should see reason." In pursuance of this clause, the guns brought by himself and the party who were with him were delivered up.

The colonists, now thoroughly alarmed, made efforts during the succeeding summer to deprive the neighboring tribes of arms and ammunition, making further prohibitory enactments as to the trade in these articles. Philip having failed to carry out his agreement to surrender his weapons, the Plymouth government referred the matter to the authorities of Massachusetts; but Philip, repairing himself to Boston, excited some feeling in his favor, and the

claims of Plymouth were not fully assented to. Another treaty was concluded in the ensuing September, whereby Philip agreed to pay certain stipulated costs; to consider himself subject to the king of England; to consult the governor of Plymouth in the disposal of his lands, as also in the making of war; to render, if practicable, five wolves' heads yearly; and to refer all differences and causes of quarrel to the decision of the governor. The arms put in possession of the English at the time of the meeting in April, were declared forfeit, and confiscated by the Plymouth government.

There can be but little doubt as to Philip's motive for signing these articles. Feelings of enmity and revenge towards the whites had obtained complete possession of him, and he evidently wished merely to quiet suspicion and avert inquiry. It is almost universally allowed that he had long formed a deep and settled plan to exterminate the white settlers, and, in pursuance of it, had made use of all his powers of artful persuasion in his intercourse with the surrounding tribes. The time for a general uprising was said to have been fixed a year later than the period when hostilities actually commenced, and the premature development of the conspiracy, brought about in a manner to which we shall presently advert, has been considered the salvation of the colonies.

Hubbard, indeed, who is ever unwilling to allow that the Indians were possessed of any good or desirable qualities, and who can see no wrong in any of the outrages of the whites, suggests that Philip's heart would have failed him, had he not been pressed on to the undertaking by force of circumstances. He tells us that, when the great sachem succumbed to the English demands, in the spring previous, "one of his captains, of far better courage and resolution than himself, when he saw his cowardly temper and disposition, flung down his arms, calling him a white-



KING PHILIP.

livered cur or to that purpose, and saying that he would never own him again or fight under him; and, from that time, hath turned to the English, and hath continued, to this day, a faithful and resolute soldier in their quarrel."

Philip had mingled much with the whites, and was well acquainted with their habits, dispositions, and force. For fifty years there had been comparative peace between the colonists and their savage neighbors, who, although slow to adopt the customs and refinements now brought to their notice, were apt enough, as we have seen, in availing themselves of the weapons which put the contending nations so nearly upon terms of equality.

To rouse a widely-scattered people to such a desperate struggle; to reconcile clannish animosities, and to point out the danger of allowing the colonies to continue their spread, required a master-spirit. The Wampanoag sachem proved himself qualified for the undertaking: he gained the concurrence and cöoperation of the Narragansetts, a nation always more favorably disposed towards the English than most others of the Indian tribes; he extended his league far to the westward, among the tribes on the Connecticut and elsewhere; and sent diplomatic embassies in every direction.

Six of his warriors, in the spring of 1675, were dispatched to Sogkonate, now Little Compton, upon the eastern shores of Narragansett bay, and extending along the sea coast, to treat with Awoshonks, squaw sachem of the tribe, concerning the proposed uprising. The queen appointed a great dance, calling together all her people, but, at the same time, took the precaution to send intelligence of the proceeding, by two Indians, named Sassamon and George, who understood English, to her friend, Captain Benjamin Church, the only white settler then residing in that part of the country.

This remarkable man, whose name occupies so prominent

a place in the list of our early military heroes, had moved from Duxbury into the unsettled country of the Sogkonates only the year before, and was busily and laboriously engaged, at this time, in building, and in the numerous cares attendant upon a new settlement. He was a man of courage and fortitude unsurpassed: bold and energetic; but with all the rough qualities of a soldier, possessing a heart so open to kindly emotions and the gentler feelings of humanity as to excite our surprise, when we consider the stern age in which he lived, and the scenes of savage conflict in which he bore so conspicuous a part.

True courage is generally combined with generosity and magnanimity. The brave man seldom oppresses a fallen foe; a fact strikingly exemplified in Church's treatment of his prisoners. He seems to have harbored none of those feelings of bitterness and revenge which led the colonists to acts of perfidy and cruelty hardly surpassed by the savages themselves. The manner in which he was able to conciliate the good-will of the Indians, known as he was among them for their most dangerous foe, is truly astonishing. It was his custom to select from his captives such as took his fancy, and attach them to himself, and never was officer attended by a more enthusiastic and faithful guard than they proved. His son tells us that "if he perceived they looked surly, and his Indian soldiers called them treacherous dogs, as some of them would sometimes do, all the notice he would take of it would only be to clap them on the back, and tell them, 'Come, come, you look wild and surly, and mutter, but that signifies nothing; these, my best soldiers, were, a little while ago, as wild and surly as you are now; by the time you have been but one day with me, you will love me too, and be as brisk as any of them.' And it proved so, for there was none of them but, after they had been a little while with him, and seen his behavior and how cheerful and successful his men

were, would be as ready to pilot him to any place where the Indians dwelt or haunted, though their own fathers or nearest relations should be among them, or to fight for him, as any of his own men."

Captain Church was in high favor and confidence with Awoshonks and her tribe; he therefore accepted her invitation to attend at the dance, and started for the camp, accompanied by a son of his tenant, who spoke the Indian language.

He found the queen leading the dance, "in a muck of sweat," surrounded by a great body of her subjects. She received her visitor hospitably, told him of Philip's threats, and inquired concerning the purposes of the English. Church told her that no injuries had been meditated by the whites, as Philip averred, but that the sachem was the aggressor. He advised her to keep upon good terms with the English, asking her whether it was a probable thing that he should have come down into the wilderness to settle—if there were warlike preparations in progress among his people; and silenced the six Mount Hope ambassadors by recommending that they should be knocked on the head. A stormy discussion ensued among the Indians, and one Little Eyes, a man of importance, endeavored to draw Church aside to dispatch him quietly; but the captain was unmoved, and upbraided the Mount Hopes for their bloody intention, assuring them that, if they would have war, he would prove a thorn in their sides. Awoshonks inclined to his advice, and, having appointed two men to guard his house during his absence, desired him to go to Plymouth, and make known her good faith to the colonies.

Church started on his mission, and, on the way, gained further information concerning Philip's movements from Peter Nunnuit, the husband of Weetamore, queen of Pocasset, now Tiverton. Philip, it seems, had been holding a protracted dance for a number of weeks, rousing a mar-

tial spirit in the minds of the young warriors who were gathered about him from far and near. He had finally promised them that, on the succeeding Sabbath, they might plunder the English settlements, while the people were engaged in religious services.

We may here mention a circumstance which was considered, by Hubbard and others, as having an important bearing upon the premature commencement of hostilities on the part of Philip: this was the murder of John Sassamon, and the subsequent execution of the guilty parties. Sassamon was one of the few Indians who, at that time, had received the rudiments of an English education. He was a professor of Christianity, and had been employed among his people in the capacities of schoolmaster, preacher, and royal secretary. In 1662, he occupied this latter post under Philip, to whom he was subject, although born a Massachusett—and specimens of his imperfect communications with the colonies, in behalf of his sachem, are still preserved.

Becoming aware of the dangerous conspiracy fomented by Philip, he disclosed the whole plot to the officers of the colony; and, not long after, his body was found in Assawomsett pond, with the neck broken, and presenting other marks of violence. His gun and hat were so disposed as to give the impression that he had accidentally fallen through the ice, and been drowned. The matter was strictly inquired into, and three Indians, of Philip's party, falling under suspicion, were regularly tried before a jury, in part at least of their peers, as it was composed of whites and Indians. The culprits were convicted and executed, two of them upon what would appear to us as very insufficient evidence. Mather speaks of the blood oozing from the murdered body on the approach of the accused; but whether this circumstance made a part of the evidence before the court does not appear.

Philip himself did not come forward to attempt to clear himself of the charge of being concerned in this murder, but kept his warriors in preparation for battle, receiving and entertaining all the roving and unsettled Indians who would resort to him, and "marching up and down" continually during the pendancy of the trial.

CHAPTER V.

ATTACK ON SWANSEY—COLLECTION OF TROOPS—FIGHT AT MILES' BRIDGE—PHILIP DRIVEN FROM THE NECK—CHURCH AT PUNKATESE—DESTRUCTION OF BROOKFIELD.

It was on the 24th of June, 1675, that the first open attack was made upon the colonies. The small village of Swansey lay within a few miles of Mount Hope, and here the first blood was shed. Some days previous, a party of the natives had committed a few slight depredations at this place, and conducted themselves with insolence, evidently desirous of provoking a quarrel.

The squaws and children of Philip's active force were sent, for safety, to the country of the Narragansetts, before any open demonstration of hostilities.

Some little discrepancy occurs in the early accounts of the first fatal attack, but it is certain that, on the day above mentioned, eight or nine men were killed in different parts of Swansey. A company returning from religious exercises, "in a way of humiliation," were fired upon with fatal effect, one being killed and several wounded. Two more, who had started in quest of a surgeon, were slain, scalped and mangled; and six men were killed at a dwelling-house situated in another part of the settlement.

From this period all was terror and confusion. Swan-

sey was deserted by its inhabitants, and mostly reduced to ashes by the Indians. Deputations were sent to Boston, to lay the case before the Massachusetts authorities, and to solicit some prompt and efficient protection in this terrible emergency.

A party of horse and foot were at once dispatched in the direction of Mount Hope, under the command of Captains Henchman and Prentice. Samuel Mosely, a bold and martial character, who had pursued the calling of a privateer, raised a volunteer company of one hundred and ten soldiers, and joined the expedition. He was, it is said, accompanied by several bucaneers of his own class, with a number of dogs; and the feats performed by them, upon divers occasions, savor rather of the marvellous.

The head-quarters of the united forces were at the house of a minister of Swansey, named Miles, and hard by was a bridge, affording convenient access to the domains of Philip.

Captain Church, with the Plymouth troops under Major Cutworth, were now acting in concert with the men from Massachusetts. The Indians lay concealed or skulking about the garrison, and succeeded in killing a number by shots from covert, but showed themselves wary of coming to open combat.

A detachment of Prentice's men, led by a Mr. Gill and one Belcher, made an attempt upon the enemy in their own quarters, but, upon crossing Miles' bridge, were fired upon by some of the Indians lying in ambush, and one of their number was killed. Gill was struck by a ball, which would have proved mortal but for a singular species of defensive armor, viz: a quantity of thick brown paper which he had inserted under his clothes. The troops retreated, leaving Church, Gill, and another to bring off the dead man; which, being accomplished, Church pursued and rēgained his horse, under the full fire of the enemy.

The next day the bridge was crossed by a larger force,

and, after some skirmishing, in which "Ensign Savage, that young martial spark, scarce twenty years of age," was shot through the thigh—as Church says, by an accidental ball from his own party—the neck of Mount Hope was cleared of Indians. The English there found Philip's deserted wigwam, and the mutilated remains of a number of the murdered whites.

It was now proposed to secure the ground already gained by the erection of a fort. Church ridiculed the plan, and urgently advocated a brisk pursuit of the enemy in the Pocasset country, whither they had doubtless fled. From disregard to this advice, Philip had free scope to extend his devastations unchecked toward the east, and terrible destruction ensued, as we shall see hereafter.

Early in July, Captains Church and Fuller, with six files of soldiers, were sent across to Rhode Island, thence to cross Sogkonate river, and endeavor to communicate with the Pocasset and Sogkonate Indians. About the same time, Captain Hutchinson, from Boston, arrived at the English encampment, having been commissioned to treat with and gain over the Narragansetts. In pursuance of this purpose, Hutchinson, with Mosely and the Massachusetts troops, proceeded in arms to the Narragansett country, where, in concert with commissioners from Connecticut, they concluded a futile and inoperative treaty of amity with certain Indians claiming to be chief counsellors of the prominent sachems. The Narragansetts were bound, by the stipulations of this alliance, to render up all of Philip's subjects who should be found in their country—receiving two coats for every prisoner, and one coat for every head—and to carry on active war against the enemies of the whites. Hostages were given to ensure the performance of the engagement.

While this child's play was enacting, Fuller and Church, with their little band of thirty-six men, had penetrated

into the country of the Pocassets. After some unsuccessful attempt to entrap the enemy by means of ambuscade, (the concealed company being betrayed by incautiously gratifying their "epidemical plague, lust after tobacco,") Church and fifteen or twenty companions, with the consent of Captain Fuller, left the rest at Pocasset, and marched southward.

They struck an Indian trail leading towards an extensive pine swamp, but the company becoming alarmed by the numbers of rattlesnakes which abounded there, left the track, and went down into Punkatese neck. At this place, which is situated on the south-western part of the modern town of Tiverton, they encountered a large body of the natives in and around a pease-field of Captain Almy. They numbered, as Church was afterwards told by some of their own party, about three hundred; but, as they pursued the usual course of savage warfare, firing from behind trees and thickets, the English could form no estimate of the force with which they were to contend.

In this extremity the courage, coolness, and self-possession of the gallant captain were eminently conspicuous. As forcibly expressed in Church's narrative, "the hill seemed to move, being covered over with Indians, with their bright guns glittering in the sun."

A detachment had been sent down the river in boats to support the troops on land, and could be plainly seen, landed upon the Rhode Island shore, across the river. Church bade his men strip to their shirt-sleeves, and fire signal guns to attract attention, and show their allies that the party engaged was English. This course succeeded, and a boat put out, and approached the combatants; but, on approaching the shore, the crew received such a volley from the guns of the Indians, that they pulled off again. Church, enraged at their pusillanimity, finally ordered the boat off, and threatened to fire into her himself. These

few men, thus left to shift for themselves, now seemed to be in a desperate condition. They were faint for want of food, as they had neglected to bring any provisions, other than a few cakes of rusk, and had been driven from the pease-field while endeavoring to allay their hunger with the crude nourishment within their reach. The Indians beset them on all sides, and, gaining possession of the ruins of an old stone-house, poured their bullets upon the English from its shelter. The ammunition of Church's party was nearly expended, and their powder was poor and inefficient. In the midst of these difficulties, the captain succeeded in preserving the courage and spirit of his men, pointing out to them how providentially the balls seemed to be directed.

They were finally relieved from their perilous situation by the arrival of a sloop of Captain Golding, an acquaintance of Church. Mooring the vessel at a short distance, he cast off a canoe, and suffered it to drive ashore. In this slight vehicle, which would carry but two at a time, the whole of the party got off to the sloop, by a repetition of the same operation. Church, who had left his hat at a spring, declared that the enemy should not have it as a trophy; and, loading his gun with his last charge of powder, he went up alone, in the face of the Indians, and recovered it. When going on board in the canoe, a ball struck a small stake just before his breast, and another passed through his hair.

Joining company next day with Fuller's party, who had also been engaged with the Indians at Pocasset, they all returned to the encampment at Mount Hope, where the army, as Church averred, "lay still to cover the people from nobody, while they were building a fort for nothing."

Shortly after this, being upon Rhode Island, in pursuit of supplies for the garrison, Church fell in with Alderman, a deserter from the forces of Weetamore, queen of Pocas-

set. By conversation with this Indian, he learned the precise spot at which the squaw sachem was encamped, and, in pursuance of his suggestion, an expedition was immediately set on foot against her. The attempt terminated in an unimportant skirmish; the chief officer of the Plymouth men being timid, and the Indians retiring to a swamp of difficult access.

On the 18th of July, the united forces of the colonists drove Philip, with a large body of his warriors, into an extensive swamp in Pocasset. After an imperfect examination of the Indians' place of retreat, the forces were drawn off, having sustained considerable loss by the fire of the lurking enemy. It was averred, indeed, by some, that half an hour more of energetic pursuit would have secured Philip, and perhaps have ended the war. One hundred newly-erected wigwams were found deserted in the vicinity of the swamp; and an old man, who had been left behind in the precipitate retreat, confirmed the supposition that Philip had but lately fled from the camp.

Not far from this time, the town of Dartmouth having been, in great measure, destroyed by the enemy, a large number of Indians, no less than one hundred and sixty, who had dwelt in the country thereabout, and were not active partakers in the destruction of the town, delivered themselves up to one Captain Eels, upon promises of good treatment. They were, nevertheless, taken to Plymouth; sold by the colonial authorities as slaves; and transported to foreign parts. Captains Church and Eels made, upon this occasion, the most vehement remonstrances, expressed by Church with his characteristic energy and spirit; but all to no purpose, as it only secured him the ill-will of the government. The act was grossly impolitic, as well as perfidious and cruel.

The English entertained hopes of being able to confine Philip within the limits of the swamp to which he had

retired, and proceeded to erect another fort at Pocasset; an expedient which seems to have been as ill-advised and futile as the garrisoning of Mount Hope. The sachem had abundant leisure to prepare canoes, an opportunity of which he diligently availed himself, and secretly passed the river with all his warriors. They were seen by the people of Rehoboth, crossing the open country, which extended for some distance, and offered no means of protection or concealment to the fugitives.

A party was speedily sent in pursuit, under Captain Henchman, accompanied by Owenoco, the son of Uncas the Mohegan, and a considerable band of warriors. Uncas had sent this detachment to Boston, upon the summons of the Massachusetts authorities, to renew his assurances of good faith, and proffer assistance in the campaign against Philip.

Henchman's company proceeded up the river to Providence, and being there somewhat rëinforced, hastened at once on the trail of the Wampanoag. Coming up with a portion of the enemy, a sharp engagement ensued, and about thirty of Philip's warriors were killed, but the Mohegans stopping for plunder, the principal force escaped, and from that time were no more seen by the pursuers. Henchman returned with his men to the eastern colonies, while the Mohegans took their way southward to their own country, leaving Philip to pursue his course towards the Hudson, and to rouse up the war among the western settlements of Massachusetts.

The Nipmucks, a large tribe inhabiting the north-eastern portion of the present state of Connecticut, and the adjoining Massachusetts districts, appear, ere this period, to have become involved in Philip's undertaking. Mendon, a small town, twenty-four miles westward from Providence, and standing at some distance from any other settlement, had been attacked on the 14th of July, and a

number of men killed by shots from an unseen enemy. The whole of the inhabitants deserted the place in terror, and it was reduced to ashes by the assailants.

The colonies attempted, after this, to treat with the Nipmuck sachems, but found them reserved and "surly." A meeting was, however, appointed between them and an embassy from the Massachusetts government. Captains Wheeler and Hutchinson, with a considerable body of mounted men, repaired to the place of meeting at the time designated, viz: the 2d of August; but, instead of coming forward in friendly conference, the Indians, to the number of two or three hundred, formed an ambuscade, and, firing suddenly from their cover, killed eight of the whites at the first discharge. Hutchinson was killed and Wheeler wounded.

The company, avoiding the other spots where they suspected the enemy to be lying in ambush, made the best of their way to Brookfield, a solitary village near the principal head-quarters of the Nipmucks. The Indians, in great numbers, pursued them into the town. They found the terrified inhabitants collected in a single house, which stood on a rising ground, where they had fortified themselves as well as possible, upon such an emergency, by piling logs and hanging feather beds against the walls. Wheeler and his companions also entered the house, and the savages, after burning all the buildings in the town, with the exception of a few immediately adjoining that where the whites had retreated, laid close siege to the frail fortification. Seventy people, including women and children, were here crowded together, with such slight defences as we have mentioned; while an enraged and remorseless enemy was pouring showers of bullets through the walls, and using every endeavor to fire the house. The Indians shot burning arrows upon the roof, and, attaching rags dipped in brimstone to long poles, they set fire to them, and thrust them against the walls. From the

afternoon of Monday the 2d of August, till Wednesday evening, these assaults continued; and, as a last attempt, the besiegers loaded a cart with hemp and other inflammable materials, and binding together a number of poles, so attached to the vehicle that it could be moved from a safe distance, wheeled it blazing against the building. This was in the evening, and, according to Wheeler's account, nothing could have preserved the unfortunate inmates, had not a heavy shower of rain suddenly extinguished the burning mass. In the words of Hubbard, by "this devilish stratagem," but for the rain, "all the poor people would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey."

To exclude all assistance from without, the Indians had placed watchers and ambuscades upon all sides of the town; but Major Willard, who had been dispatched against the Indians west of Groton, hearing of the probable condition of Brookfield, marched to its relief, and succeeded in effecting an entrance to the fortified house on this same night. He had with him forty-six men, but it is said that, as they passed through the ruins of the town, a large number of terrified cattle, who had not been destroyed in the conflagration, followed them for protection; and that, in the darkness, the Indians were deceived by this circumstance, as to the number of the party, and accordingly drew off their forces early the next morning. They retired to a swamp, twelve miles distant, where they met Philip with a band of his warriors. Only one of the whites was killed on this occasion, while the Indians lost, it is said, nearly eighty.

A garrison was maintained at the only remaining house for some months, but was finally drawn off, the building was burned by the savages, and the town left entirely desolate.

CHAPTER VI.

PHILIP MOVES WESTWARD—ATTACKS ON HADLEY AND DEERFIELD—GOFFE THE REGICIDE—DESTRUCTION OF LATHROP'S COMMAND—ASSAULTS ON SPRINGFIELD AND HATFIELD—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE NARRAGANSETTS: OUTRAGEOUS CRUELTIES IN THEIR REDUCTION—PHILIP ON THE HUDSON—DESTRUCTION OF LANCASTER, MEDFIELD, SEEKONK, GROTON, WARWICK, MARLBOROUGH, ETC.—CANONCHET TAKEN AND PUT TO DEATH—FURTHER INDIAN RAVAGES.

"All died—the wailing babe—the shrieking maid—
And in the flood of fire that seathed the glade,
The roofs went down."—BRYANT.

WE can do little more, in continuing this account of Indian ravages, than enumerate the towns and settlements destroyed, and the little communities massacred or driven from their homes in utter destitution.

The terrible uncertainty which attended these calamities rendered them the more distressing. No one could tell, for many months from this time, where Philip was to be found, or at what point he meditated the next attack. He continued his westward progress, as is supposed, nearly to the Hudson, through the Mohegan country. He was thought to be present at many of the successful and murderous assaults that were made upon the white settlements; but, if so, he was enabled so to disguise himself as not to be distinctly recognized.

Mosely and others in vain scoured the country in pursuit of the Indians. The enemy, neglecting agriculture, and deserting their usual haunts, concealed themselves in swamps and thickets, retiring unperceived at the approach of regular troops, and ever ready to take advantage of any weak and unprotected quarter.

The Indians in the vicinity of Hadley and Springfield, on the Connecticut, were relied upon by the whites as friendly and well-disposed; but ere long it was sufficiently plain that they had made common cause with Philip.

On the 1st of September, Hadley and Deerfield were both fiercely assaulted, and the latter town in great measure destroyed. At Hadley the Indians were driven off after much hard fighting. The inhabitants were engaged in religious exercises at the meeting-house, with arms, as usual, by their sides, when the Indians came upon them. So sudden and desperate was the attack, that they became confused, and might have been totally discomfited, but for a strange and unlooked-for champion. This was an old man, with white and flowing locks, and unusual costume, who appeared from some unknown quarter, and at once assumed the command of the panic-stricken congregation. With military skill and coolness he directed every manœuvre, and so rëestablished their confidence and spirit, that the enemy was speedily put to flight. He disappeared immediately after the engagement, and many of the astonished inhabitants were persuaded that an angel from heaven had been miraculously sent for their deliverance.

The old warrior was no other than Major-general Goffe, who, with his companion, Whalley, lay for a long time concealed at the house of Mr. Russell, the minister of Hadley.

Ten men were killed at Northfield about this time, and a party of thirty-six, under a Captain Beers, who had been sent to relieve the town, were nearly all cut off by an ambush. The bodies were mutilated, and the heads set on poles. "One, (if not more,") says Hubbard, "was found with a chain hooked into his under jaw, and so hung up on the bough of a tree, (it is feared he was hung up alive.")

Several thousand bushels of corn had been stored at Deerfield, and a company of nearly one hundred young men, "the flower of the country," under the command of

a youthful and gallant officer, Captain Lathrop, marched to secure it. On their way, an immense body of Indians fell upon them, and slew nearly the whole party; among the rest, the brave commander; only seven or eight survived. This defeat is attributed to the circumstance that Lathrop, aware of the disadvantages which a compact body of troops must labor under, when contending with an enemy who always fired from cover, ordered his men to separate, and take to the trees, like their opponents. This being done, the disproportion of numbers proved so great, that the Indians were enabled to surround the English, and cut them off separately.

The Springfield Indians had pretended unbroken friendship for the whites, and had given hostages as pledges of good faith; but the hostages succeeded in escaping, and the whole body joined the hostile confederacy, with those of Hadley, "hanging together like serpent's eggs." The town of Springfield received great injury from their attack, more than thirty houses being burned; among the rest, one containing a "brave library," the finest in that part of the country, which belonged to the Rev. Pelatiah Glover. Hubbard considers that this act "did, more than any other, discover the said actors to be the children of the devil, full of all subtilty and malice," as they had been upon friendly terms with the whites for more than forty years.

On the 19th of October, seven or eight hundred of Philip's coadjutors made an attempt upon Hatfield; but, the place being well defended, by Mosely and others, the enemy "were so well entertained on all hands, that they found it too hot for them."

This was the last important engagement at the westward part of the colony. Most of Philip's men are supposed to have betaken themselves, before winter, to the Narragansett country; and whether the great sachem himself remained concealed among them during that season, or

wandered to the west, hatching new plots in the vicinity of the Hudson, is not certainly known.

The condition of the hostile Indians, notwithstanding their signal successes, must by this time have become sufficiently miserable. Living almost exclusively upon animal food; ill protected from the inclemencies of the weather; and continually shifting their quarters, it is surprising that they should so long have retained their energy and fixedness of purpose.

In September of this year, 1675, the commissioners of the united colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, being in session at Boston, concluded arrangements by which the war should be jointly and systematically prosecuted. One thousand men were to be levied and equipped; the proportion which each colony should furnish being settled according to their comparative population and resources.

On the 2d of November it was agreed, by the same body, that an additional force should be raised, and active measures be taken against the Narragansetts. The reasons alledged for attacking this tribe were, that the stipulation made by those sachems, who had treated with the colonies to deliver up all of Philip's party who should take refuge at Narragansett, had not been fulfilled; but that women, children, and wounded men had been succored and received by them! In addition to this, some of the tribe had expressed satisfaction upon hearing of the Indian successes at Hadley, and it was "credibly reported" that they had killed and taken away many cattle from the neighboring English. These, with a detention of a Mr. Smith and his family, for a short time,—no other harm being done them,—were all the ostensible grounds upon which a formidable army was sent to exterminate the Narragansetts with fire and sword!

No doubt their sympathies were with those of their own

race, and, had they fully joined the conspiracy, the addition of so numerous a tribe to the enemy might have turned the scale, and resulted in the annihilation of the whites.

Josias Winslow, governor of Plymouth colony, was chosen commander-in-chief of the English force. Church, at the request of Winslow, joined the expedition, although he would not accept of a commission. A considerable body of Mohegans, subjects of Uncas, accompanied the detachment from Connecticut.

After destroying many deserted wigwams, and taking a considerable number of prisoners in desultory warfare, a guide was obtained to pilot the invaders to the chief fort of the Narragansetts. The encampment covered five or six acres of elevated ground, forming an island in the midst of an extensive swamp. In addition to the natural defences of the place, the whole village was surrounded by a strong palisade, and the only means of approach was by crossing the marsh upon a huge fallen tree. The wigwams within, to the number of five or six hundred, were rendered, to a great extent, bullet-proof by piling up tubs of grain and other stores about the sides.

It was upon the 19th of December, early in the afternoon, that the English forces reached this place of retreat. With determined and desperate courage they rushed to the attack. File after file of soldiers, with their officers at their head, was swept from the narrow bridge by the fire of a party within, posted in a log hut, from which the approach was commanded. They continued to press on, and succeeded in driving the Indians from this covert into the main inclosure. A scene of terrible carnage ensued for several hours: but the assailants steadily gained ground, driving many of the enemy into the swamp, and covering the area within with dead bodies.

Church, who had made an excursion, with a small party, into the swamp, to attack the Indians in the rear, and who,

after doing good service, was severely wounded in the thigh, seeing some setting fire to the wigwams, made strenuous efforts to prevent their destruction. The weather was intensely cold; night was coming on; many of the troops were destitute of provisions; a heavy snow storm was brooding; and sixteen miles must be traversed by the army, encumbered by their wounded, before they could reach shelter. He represented all these circumstances to the general, pointing out the advantages of obtaining plentiful supplies of food, and a warm cover where the wounded could receive requisite attention. We will hope that some feelings of humanity towards the unfortunate women and children, with which the huts were crowded, formed a part of his motives for this advice.

The general inclined to Church's counsel, but other officers, fearing that the Indians would rally and attack them in force, should the army take up their quarters for the night, vehemently opposed him, and the work of destruction proceeded. Now was reënacted the terrible scene at the fort of the Pequots. Great numbers of old men, women and children were burned alive in the blazing wigwams, or mercilessly slain in their attempts to escape. Hubbard, the reverend historian of the Indian wars, speaks of this "firing of at least five or six hundred of their smoaky cells," as follows: The Indians were about preparing their dinner when "our sudden and unexpected assault put them beside that work, making their cook-room too hot for them at that time, when they and their mitchin fried together; and probably some of them eat their suppers in a colder place that night: Most of their provisions, as well as huts, being then consumed with fire, and those that were left alive forced to hide themselves in a cedar swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend them from the cold but boughs of spruce and pine trees." The whole town was reduced to ashes; and, leav-

ing the inclosure a smoking ruin, every where strewn with burned and mangled corpses, the army commenced a retreat, worn out by cold, fatigue and hunger. Many perished by the way, and many more must have died from starvation, but for the fortunate arrival at their rendezvous of a vessel from Boston with provisions.

Eighty of their number were killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded in the engagement. Besides an untold number of the helpless occupants of the wigwams who perished in the flames, it was supposed that not far from three hundred Indian warriors were slain outright, and seven hundred wounded, of whom many died from exposure during the storm and cold of that terrible night.

Most of the survivors of the tribe fled to the Nipmucks, after some inconclusive negotiation for peace with the English. The old sachem Ninigret seems to have been inclined to make terms, but Canonicus, or Canonchet, a son of Miantonimo, and a brave and energetic chief, nourished the most unyielding hostility towards the destroyer of his people.

On the 10th of January, an Indian was found concealed in a barn, "but after he was brought to the head-quarters" (in the words of Hubbard) "he would own nothing but what was forced out of his mouth by the *woolding of his head with a cord*, wherefore he was presently judged to die, as a Wampanoag."

One Tift, an English renegade, who had joined the Indians, married one of their women, and assisted them in their battles with the whites, was taken and put to death.

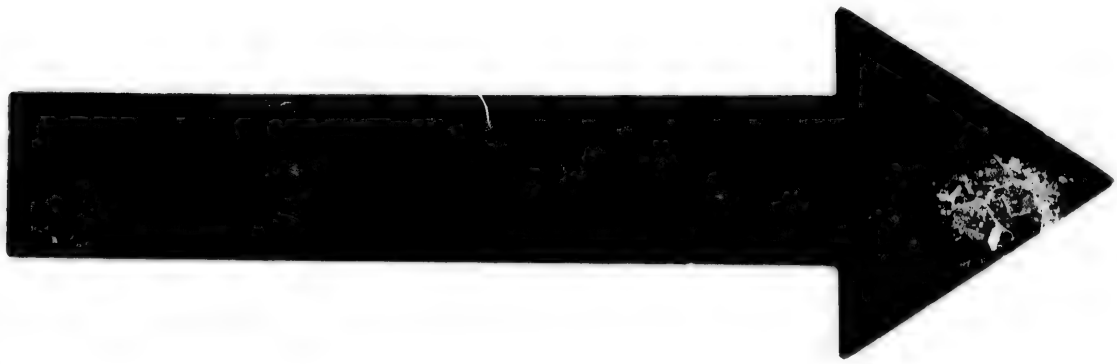
Winslow, in the latter part of January, pursued the Narragansetts into the Nipmuck country, whither they had fled, committing divers depredations on the route, and killed about seventy of those whom he could come up with. The larger portion, however, succeeded in joining the forces of the Nipmucks, while the English were compelled to return to the settlement for want of provisions.

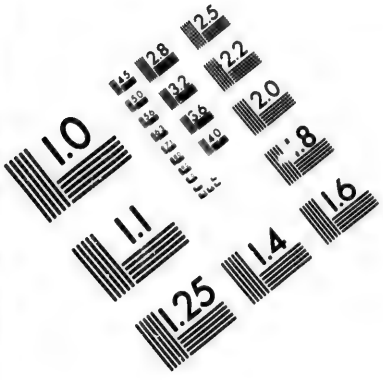
Philip is supposed to have fled about this time as far west as the Hudson river, where, it is said, "the Mohags (Mohawks) made a descent upon him, and killed many of his men, which moved him from thence." Some authors, notwithstanding, speak of him as having been present at various places in Massachusetts, attacked by Indians during the latter part of the winter.

About the 10th of February, (old style,) Lancaster was destroyed by a large force of the enemy, consisting of Nipmucks, Nashawas, and Narragansetts, under the noted Sagamore Sam. The house of Mr. Rowlandson, the minister, which was garrisoned, and contained fifty-five persons, was set on fire, and the inmates were killed or made captives. More than twenty women and children fell into the hands of the assailants. They were most of them well treated during their captivity, the Indians "offering no wrong to any of their persons save what they could not help, being in many wants themselves." Mrs. Rowlandson, wife of the minister, was among the prisoners, and her account of Indian manners and peculiarities, witnessed during the three months of her captivity, are exceedingly interesting.

Church says that Philip's next "kennelling place" was at the falls on the Connecticut, and he probably gave directions concerning many of the devastations committed in February and March, if not personally present at them.

On the 21st of February, the town of Medfield, only about twenty miles from Boston, was mostly destroyed. The Indians had concealed themselves, during the previous night, in every quarter of the place, and, at early dawn, fired about fifty buildings simultaneously. One hundred and sixty soldiers were quartered in the town, but so sudden and well concerted was the attack, that it was impossible to save the buildings which had been set on fire. Nearly forty of the inhabitants were killed or





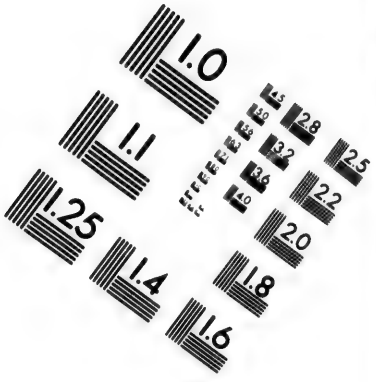
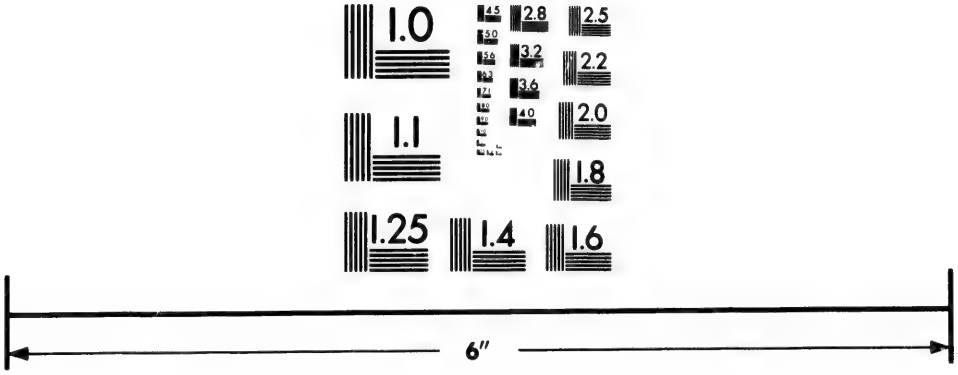
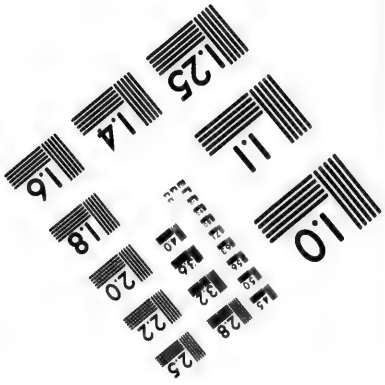


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
3.2
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

wounded. Being compelled, at last, to retreat across Charles river, the Indians burned the bridge behind them, and left a paper, written by some of their number who had received education from the English, to the following effect: "Know, by this paper, that the Indians whom thou hast provoked to wrath and anger, will war this 21 years if you will. There are many Indians yet. We come 300 at this time. You must consider the Indians lose nothing but their life: You must lose your fair houses and cattle."

One account states that Philip himself was seen at this action, "riding upon a black horse, leaping over fences, and exulting in the havoc he was making."

Through the months of February and March, the savages met with signal success. Seekonk, Groton and Warwick were destroyed; Northampton was assaulted; one house was burned in the very town of Plymouth, and a number of buildings at Weymouth, only eleven miles from Boston, shared a similar fate. Thirty houses were burned at Providence. Captain Pierce, of Scituate, who had been sent with a party of fifty whites and a number of friendly Indians on an excursion against the enemy, was slain, with the entire company of English. Only a few of the Indian allies escaped.

On the same day, Marlborough was destroyed, with the exception of the houses which had been garrisoned. This attack was probably made by Philip himself, with the Nipmuck and Narragansett Indians. Continuing their march, they did much damage at Sudbury, and "met and swallowed up valiant Captain Wadsworth and his company," consisting of fifty men, with whom he was hastening to the relief of the town.

One of the first severe reverses experienced by Philip, was the capture and execution of the younger Canonicus or Canonchet, the noblest and most influential of the Narragansett sachems. This was accomplished by a party

led by Captain Dennison, from Connecticut, consisting of English, Nehantic Indians, subject to Ninigret, and Mohegans, under the command of Owenoco, son of Uncas. Canonchet, with a small band of warriors, came to Narragansett early in April, for the purpose of procuring seed-corn for his people in the western settlements. Dennison, having heard, from a captive squaw, of the sachem's proximity, pursued and took him.

The proud chief, upon his capture, being addressed by a young man of the party, according to Hubbard, "looking, with a little neglect upon his youthful face, replied in broken English: 'you much child: no understand matters of war; let your brother or your chief come:' acting herein as if, by a Pythagorean metempsychosis, some old Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western Pagan." He was carried to Stonington, and there shot: his head was sent to Hartford as a trophy. He approved his sentence, saying that "he should die before his heart was soft, and before he had spoken any thing unworthy of himself." He had been Philip's faithful ally to the last, and ever refused to "deliver up a Wampanoag, or the paring of a Wampanoag's nail," to the English. Dennison and his men afterwards made further spoil of the enemy, killing and capturing a large number of the Narragansetts.

During the months of April and May, twenty or thirty buildings were burned in Plymouth; Taunton and Scituate were attacked, and Bridgewater sustained no small injury from an assault by three hundred Indians, under the sachem Tisguogen.

Great numbers of hostile Indians having congregated at the falls of the Connecticut, during the month of May, for the purpose of fishing, a strong force of soldiers and inhabitants of the towns on the river, under the command of Captains Holyoke and Turner, made a descent upon them. The Indians were encamped in careless security, and, the

attack being made in the night, some two hundred were killed, or drowned in attempting to escape across the river. In the midst of this success it was reported to the English, by an Indian, that Philip in person, with an immense force, was coming upon them. Commencing a retreat, upon this news, the Indians recovered from their panic, and pursuing the party from which they had so recently fled in confusion, killed from thirty to forty of their number.

On the 30th of May, six hundred Indians attacked Hatfield, and burned many buildings, but the place was bravely defended, and the enemy was driven off. A still larger number, about a fortnight later, assaulted Hadley, but, by the assistance of troops from Connecticut, the inhabitants successfully repelled them.

CHAPTER VII.

PHILIP'S RETURN TO POKANOKET—MAJOR TALCOTT'S SUCCESSES—CHURCH COMMISSIONED BY THE COURT AT PLYMOUTH—HIS INTERVIEW WITH AWOSHONKS: WITH THE SOGKONATES AT SANDWICH—HIS CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE INDIANS—PHILIP SEEN: HIS WIFE AND SON TAKEN—DEATH OF WEETAMORE, QUEEN OF POCASSET—DEATH OF PHILIP.

PHILIP'S power was now upon the decline: his forces were discontented, and in separate bodies wandered about the country, undergoing much hardship and privation. Losing influence with the river Indians, and unable to concentrate the various tribes, with effect, he returned to his old quarters in the vicinity of Narragansett bay, accompanied by the trusty warriors who still adhered to him.

Major Talcott, from Connecticut, with a body of mounted men, accompanied by many Mohegans and Pequots, sig-

nalized himself during the month of June, by several incursions into Narragansett. On a single occasion, he killed a great number of the enemy, and took from one to two hundred prisoners. To the everlasting disgrace of the whites of this company, they allowed their Mohegan allies, upon one occasion, to torture to death a young warrior who was made prisoner. "The English," says Hubbard, "at this time were not unwilling to gratify their humor, lest, by a denial, they might disoblige their Indian friends—partly, also, that they might have an *ocular demonstration* of the savage, barbarous cruelty of the heathen." This young warrior had killed, as he averred, many Englishmen, and now, the narrative proceeds, "this monster is fallen into the hands of those that will repay him seven-fold."

The Mohegans cut round the joints of his fingers and toes successively, and then "brock them off, as was formerly the custom to do with a slaughtered beast." The victim bore all unflinchingly; replying to their taunts, with asseverations that he "liked the war well, and found it as sweet as the Englishmen do their sugar." They compelled him to dance and sing in this condition, till he had "wearied himself and them," and then broke his legs. Sinking, in silence, on the ground, he sat till they finished his miseries by a blow. Meanwhile, the English stood by, and, although the sight brought tears into the eyes of some of them, none offered to interfere.

Famine, disease, and exposure had, by this time, begun to do their work upon the miserable outcasts who had so long kept New England in terror.

A large body fled westward, pursued by troops from Connecticut, and, after sustaining considerable loss, succeeded in joining the Mohicans of the Hudson, with whom they united, and formed thereafter a portion of that tribe

The colonial authorities now offered terms of peace to

the enemy, promising good treatment to all who should surrender and deliver up their arms, with the exception of notorious offenders. Within a few weeks from this proclamation, five or six hundred of the Indians came in and submitted to the English. Some of their chiefs, and noted warriors, and those who had been chiefly concerned in the outrages upon the settlements, were put to death; the others had lands assigned them; were disarmed, and kept under the surveillance of overseers.

As Church took so prominent a part in the final reduction of Philip and his chief sachems, we will now briefly review his proceedings during this summer until the death of Philip and the close of the war. He had been summoned to Plymouth in the spring, to assist at the council of war, and, at that time, proffered advice, which, if approved by his associates, might have saved much havoc and bloodshed. His plan was to "make a business of the war, as the enemy did;" to employ large forces; to enlist all the friendly Indians who were available, and to pursue their opponents into their own country, and fight them in their own manner. Not being able to persuade the authorities to his views, he remained inactive, with his family, at Duxbury and on Rhode Island, until early in June, when he again betook himself to Plymouth, where he was gladly welcomed by the general court, then in session. The members "told him they were glad to see him alive. He replied, he was as glad to see them alive, for he had seen so many fires and smokes towards their side of the country, since he left them, that he could scarce eat or sleep with any comfort, for fear they had all been destroyed. For all traveling was stopped, and no news had passed for a long time together."

The court had now concluded, according to Church's plan, to raise a large force of English and Indians, and eagerly accepted the captain's offer of cöoperation. He

was to return to Rhode Island, and there enlist a company for the campaign. Reaching Elizabeth's Island, he could find no conveyance homeward other than a canoe, manned by two Indians. Their course took them near Sogkonate (commonly called Seaconnet) point, the wild mass of rocks which juts into the ocean, at the southern extremity of Awoshonk's domains. Church saw some of the Indians fishing upon the rocks, and bethought him that here might be further opportunity of communicating with his old friend, the squaw sachem. Notwithstanding her early counsel with Church, she, or her people, against her inclinations, had been drawn into Philip's plans, and the Sogkonates had taken active part in the hostilities.

The canoe was soon hailed from shore, but the surf beat so heavily against the rocks that the reply could not be heard. Two Indians, one of whom was George, the interpreter, therefore came out upon a long point of sand, where Church could land without danger of being surprised, and, on his approach, they informed him that Awoshonks had left Philip, and would be glad to have a conference with him. An appointment was therefore made for a meeting, on the next day that the weather would permit, at a well-known rock, upon the Richmond farm. None were to be present except the queen, her son Peter, and Nompash, an Indian known to Church.

Arriving at Newport, and detailing his plans to the authorities, they pronounced him demented to think of risking himself unprotected among such a body of the enemy. He replied that he had always wished for an opportunity to confer with the Sogkonates, not doubting but that he could secure their friendship, and that he was determined to prosecute the adventure.

He accordingly crossed over the next day, to the place appointed, accompanied only by "his own man," and the Indian who had paddled him from Elizabeth's. He was

met by the queen and the other two, who had been designated; but, upon retiring a short distance, to a convenient spot for discussion, a crowd of armed and painted warriors sprang up from amid the long grass around them.

Church betrayed no signs of surprise or fear, but, having first obtained directions from Awoshonks that the Indians should lay down their guns, he pulled out a bottle of rum, and opened the conference by proffering her a dram, asking, "if she had been so long at Weetuset as to forget to drink Occapeches." Having first swallowed some himself, from the hollow of his hand, to quiet any suspicions of treachery that she might entertain, he distributed the rest, together with some tobacco that he had brought, among those standing by. He then answered her inquiries as to the reasons why he had absented himself so long, using all his powers of persuasion to revive her old friendship for the English; promising favor and protection from the government, if she would enlist her forces against Philip; and by his bold and frank demeanor, disarming the suspicions and softening the surliness of the warriors.

At one time, as related by Church, "there arose a mighty murmur, confused noise and talk among the fierce-looking creatures; and, all rising up in a hubbub, a great surly-looking fellow took up his tomhog, or wooden cutlass, to kill Mr. Church, but some others prevented him."

This man had lost a brother in the fight at Punkatese, but Church explained how, with only a handful of men, he had been suddenly set upon, and how his intentions were, even then, friendly to the Sogkonates.

His counsels finally prevailed, and it was agreed that an offer of services should be made at Plymouth, in behalf of the tribe; five men being chosen to accompany Church on the embassy.

Having returned to Rhode Island, and, with much difficulty, procured a vessel, Captain Church set sail for Sog-

konate, whence the Indians espied him, and stood waiting upon the rocks with an old canoe, ready to come on board. The sea ran so high that no one but Peter Awoshonks was able to reach the vessel; and when, after much danger and trouble, he was taken in, a strong head wind prevented the prosecution of the voyage, and all returned to Newport, making the circuit of Rhode Island.

Church, after this delay—the arrival of the army at Pocasset being shortly expected—was unwilling to leave the Island, and accordingly sent Peter back to Sogkonate, with directions to take the selected number of his companions, and proceed across the country to Plymouth, with letters for the governor.

The Plymouth forces reached Pocasset, under command of Major Bradford, and, having been joined by Church, marched to Punkatese. Awoshonks and most of her warriors, having been notified to attend, came to this place, and proffered their services; but, to their great grief and disappointment, were ordered to repair to Sandwich, on the coast to the eastward, and await further directions from the government at Plymouth. Church advised them to comply quietly, and promised to join them, himself within a week, with a commission to employ them, if he could obtain it.

During the ensuing week, according to the opinion of some, an opportunity was lost of surprising and destroying nearly the whole of Philip's remaining force, who had gone to Wepoiset, in search of clams; provisions being very scarce with them.

Captain Church, with only one companion, rode from Rehoboth to Plymouth, starting at sunset, and reaching the town early in the morning. He there saw the governor, who had received the messengers from Sogkonate with favor, and who readily promised him the desired commission, and ratified his agreement with Awoshonks.

Not finding the Indians at Sandwich, Captain Church, with a few companions, proceeded along the coast, and finally came upon the whole tribe, scattered over the level sand-beach, engaged in various occupations and diversions—"A vast company of Indians, of all ages and sexes, some on horse-back running races, some at foot-ball, some catching eels and flat-fish, some clamming, &c."

He was received by Awoshonks and her chiefs, and royally entertained. When night came on, an immense heap of dry pine branches and other fuel was set on fire, and all the Indians, gathering round it, commenced those dances and ceremonies deemed by them so essential in cementing a league, or in entering upon any important adventure.

A stout chief would step within the circle, armed with spear and hatchet, and appear to fight the fire, with every gesture and expression of energy and fury, naming successively the several hostile tribes; "and, at the naming of every particular tribe of Indians, he would draw out and fight a new fire-brand, and at finishing his fight with each particular fire-brand, would bow to him and thank him." He would then retire, and another would repeat the same operation, "with more fury, if possible, than the first."

Awoshonks and the chiefs told Church that hereby they were his sworn soldiers, and, one and all, at his service. He therefore selected a number of them, and took them to Plymouth the next day, where he was regularly commissioned, by Governor Winslow, to raise volunteers, both English and Indian; to fight the enemy at his discretion; and to make treaty and composition with any, as he should see reason, "provided they be not murderous rogues, or such as have been principal actors in those villanies." The commission was given, under the public seal, the 24th day of July, 1676.

Being now furnished with a sufficient force, and being

at liberty to carry out his own plans, Church commenced a vigorous and effective campaign. Spreading through the forest with his men, keeping himself continually informed by scouts of the position and number of the enemy, and following up his advantages with unwearied energy, he reduced his opponents to the greatest straits. The army, under Bradford, remained at Taunton and vicinity, cutting off Philip's return from the eastward, while Church and his corps scoured the woods, surprising and killing, or taking captive large numbers of hostile Indians.

On one occasion, he fell in with Little Eyes, the Sogkonate who attempted to make way with him at the first interview with Awoshonks, and who had separated from the rest of the tribe with a few companions. His Indian allies urged Church to take this opportunity for revenging himself, but he refused, and showed the unfriendly chief quarter and protection.

Philip and his party, chiefly Narragansetts, anxious to effect a retreat to the Narragansett country, came to the banks of Taunton river, and felled a large tree over the stream for the purpose of crossing. At this spot, Church with his company and a detachment from Bridgewater, attacked him, on the 1st of August. As the English secretly approached the fallen tree, a single warrior was seen seated upon the stump across the river, and as Church was taking aim at him, one of his Indian followers called to him not to fire, thinking that it was a man of their own party. At this moment the Indian sprang from the stump, and effected his escape down the river-bank, but as he turned his face, he was distinctly recognized to be Philip himself.

The whole body of the enemy then scattered and fled through the woods, but succeeded in effecting a passage of the river at a ford, some distance beyond; hotly pursued by the English. Many women and children were

captured; among the rest, Philip's wife, Wootonekanuske, and his son, a lad only nine years of age. The Sogkonates, following closely upon the fugitives, killed several, and made thirteen prisoners.

As the flight was continued, the women and children became wearied, and, being unable to keep pace with the company, fell into the hands of the pursuers. They were ordered to follow the trail, and were assured that, if submissive and obedient, they should be the more favorably treated.

Philip, and his band, being suddenly surprised, while they were busily engaged in preparing breakfast, fled into a swamp, leaving "their kettles boiling, and meat roasting upon their wooden spits." Here they were hemmed in, and, after some hard fighting, no less than one hundred and seventy-three, including those who had followed the party, as directed, were taken prisoners or killed. A large division of these were so surprised and panic-struck by the number and determination of the pursuers, that they "stood still and let the English come and take the guns out of their hands, when they were both charged and cocked." Philip, and some of his principal chiefs, escaped.

The prisoners, having been well supplied with food, were confined in the pound, at Bridgewater, and passed the night in merriment, expressing little despondency or apprehension. They reported Philip's condition and frame of mind as being miserable in the extreme. His wife and son made prisoners; his allies overpowered, or treacherous; reverses coming thick upon him; and his force dwindling to a handful of warriors, nothing but destruction seemed to await him.

On the 6th of August, Weetamore, queen of Pocasset, and widow of Alexander, Philip's eldest brother, who throughout the war had been a most valuable and faithful coadjutor to her brother-in-law, perished in attempting to

escape over the Tehticut river, into her own country, upon a raft. She had been surprised, with twenty-six of her subjects, who were all taken prisoners. The dead body of the poor queen was found *stark naked, near the river bank*, where she had probably crouched half drowned, and died from exposure and famine. Her head was cut off by those who discovered her, and fixed upon a pole at Taunton, where it was recognized by some of her loving subjects kept there in captivity. Their burst of unrestrainable grief at the sight, is characterized by Mather, as "a most horrid and diabolical lamentation."

Church returned to Plymouth, where he received the thanks and gratulations of the authorities, but was allowed little rest, as some of the enemy, under the great sachem Totoson, were lurking around Dartmouth, and his aid was required to dislodge them. The expedition was successful, but Totoson, with an old squaw and his little son, escaped. The squaw afterwards came to Sandwich, and reported the chief's death, saying that, "reflecting upon the miserable condition he had brought himself into, his heart became a stone within him, and he died." She said that she had covered his body with a few leaves and brush.

Worn out by hard service, hard fare, and exposure, Captain Church now sought to recruit his strength by rest; but, being urged by the government to pursue Philip to the death, and receiving promises of satisfaction for former neglect, he marched to Pocasset with a company of volunteers, and thence crossed over to Rhode Island.

He there visited his wife, whom he had left at a Mrs. Sandford's, and who fainted with surprise and joy at meeting him alive; but hardly had the first greetings been exchanged, when tidings came post that Philip was to be found at his old quarters in Mount Hope neck. The horses upon which Church and his companions had just arrived stood at the door; and, telling Mrs. Church that

"she must content herself with a short visit when such game was ahead," they all mounted and spurred off.

They learned from the deserter who had brought the intelligence, that Philip was encamped upon a spot of dry land in a swamp hard by the mount; and Church being well acquainted with the locality, lost no time in taking advantage of his information. He crossed the ferry with his men, and approached the spot during the night. Having distributed a portion of the force in such a manner as to command all the places where the enemy would be likely to attempt escape, another detachment, under Captain Golding, proceeded to "beat up Philip's head-quarters;" with directions to make all the noise possible, while pursuing the fugitives, that they might be known by those who lay in ambush.

The Indians, startled by the first fire, rushed into the swamp, with Philip at their head. Half clothed, and flinging his "petunk" and powder-horn behind him, the doomed chief came, at full speed, fully within range of the guns of an Englishman and an Indian, who lay concealed at one of the points of ambuscade.

The white man's gun snapped, but the fire of his companion was fatal. Philip fell upon his face in the mire, shot through the heart. This event took place early in in the morning of Saturday, the 12th of August, 1676.

Thus the main object of the campaign was accomplished: but most of the hostile party managed to escape. Among them was the old chief, Annawon, a great captain under Philip, and Massasoit, his father. He "seemed to be a great surly old fellow," hallooing, with a loud voice, "Iootash—Iootash!" Peter, Church's man, said that he was calling on his men to fight bravely, and hold their ground.

Several of Church's Indians dragged the body of poor Philip out of the mire, "and a doleful, great, naked beast

he looked." By the direction of the captain, who averred that, having "caused many an Englishman's body to be unburied and to rot above ground, not one of his bones should be buried," one of the Indians beheaded and quartered the body of the fallen sachem, as was the custom towards traitors. The old executioner, who was appointed to this office, first made a short speech, which, but that it was rather more coarsely expressed, might remind one of the exultation of the heroes of Homer over a conquered foe.

However far removed from that absurd and morbid sensibility which perceives greater tokens of depravity in an indignity offered to a senseless carcass than in acts of cruelty and injustice towards the living, we do not care to defend this act of Church. One of Philip's hands, which had been formerly marred by the bursting of a pistol, was given to Alderman, the Indian who shot him. The exhibition of it proved a source of no small profit. The head was long exposed at Plymouth, and the devout Mather exults in having, with his own hand, displaced the jaw from the scull of "that blasphemous leviathan."

CHAPTER VIII.

PURSUIT OF ANNAWON AND HIS PARTY—DARING PROCEDURE OF CAPTAIN CHURCH—END OF THE WAR, AND FINAL DISPOSAL OF PRISONERS—SUMMARY OF THE COLONIAL LOSSES.

After the death of Philip, the company returned to Plymouth, and received, as premium for their services, thirty shillings for each Indian killed or taken.

Toward the end of August, Church was again called from Plymouth to go in pursuit of Annawon, who, with the feeble remains of his force, was scouring the country

around Rehoboth and Swansey. He accordingly took a few faithful soldiers, with his brave and tried lieutenant, Jabez Howland, and hastened through the woods to Pocasset. He intended passing the Sabbath on Rhode Island, but hearing that Indians had been seen crossing from Prudence Island to Poppasquash neck, he hastened at once in quest of them. As they were passing the river in canoes, so heavy a gale sprung up that, after the captain and fifteen or sixteen Indians were over, the boats could no longer venture. Without waiting for their English companions, this little company marched round through the northern part of the present town of Bristol, and spreading across the narrow portion of the neck, sent scouts to ascertain the position of the enemy. They there passed "a very solitary, hungry night," having no provisions. Early in the morning, Nathaniel, an Indian of the scouting party, appeared, and told how he, with his companion, had taken ten prisoners, by lying concealed, and attracting the enemies' attention by howling like a wolf. One after another, they would run to see what caused the noise, and Nathaniel, "howling lower and lower, drew them in between those who lay in wait." They afterwards secured the wives and children of these captives, all of whom said that Annawon never "roosted twice in a place," but continually shifted his quarters. They represented Annawon as the bravest and most subtle of all Philip's warriors, and said that the men who still adhered to him were valiant and resolute.

An old Indian, accompanied by a young squaw, were next taken, both of whom had come direct from the great chief's encampment, which was in Squannaconk swamp, in the south-easterly part of Rehoboth. The old man, in consideration that his life was spared, agreed to pilot Church to the spot, but begged that he might not be compelled "to fight against Captain Annawon, his old friend."

It was a bold act, indeed, on the part of Church, to undertake the capture of such a warrior, with so small a force; for, having been obliged to send some back with the prisoners, only half a dozen Indians now accompanied him. He was not a man to let slip an opportunity, and started at once for the camp, having much ado to keep pace with the hardy old Indian who led the way.

Annawon's "camp or kennelling place," was pitched in a recess in a ledge of precipitous rocks, which stood upon a rising ground in the swamp, and the only way to approach it unperceived was by clambering down the cliff. It was night when Church arrived there; stopping the guide with his hand, he crawled to the edge of the rock, and looked down upon the scene below. Annawon's hut consisted of a tree felled against the wall of rock, with birch bushes piled against it. Fires were lit without, over which meat was roasting and kettles were boiling, and the light revealed several companies of the enemy. Their arms were stacked together, and covered with a mat, and in close proximity to them lay old Annawon and his son. An old squaw was pounding corn in a mortar, and, as the noise of her blows continued, Church, preceded by the guide and his daughter, and followed by his Indian allies, let himself down by the bushes and twigs which grew in the crevices of the rock. With his hatchet in his hand, he stepped over the younger Annawon, who drew himself into a heap with his blanket over his head, and reached the guns. The old chief sat up, crying out "Howoh!" but, seeing that he was taken, lay down again in silence. The rest of the company made no resistance, supposing that the English were upon them in force. Church's Indians, going among them, enlarged upon his benevolence and kindness, and advised them to submit quietly, which they did, delivering up all their arms.

Annawon ordered his women to get supper for Captain

Church and his men, and they all supped together in harmony. The Captain, wearied out by long watching and labor, now tried to get a little sleep, but was unable to compose himself. Looking round he saw the whole party, friends and foes, sleeping soundly, with the exception of Annawon; and there lay the two rival leaders, looking at each other for near an hour.

Annawon then got up and retired a short distance, and, as he did not immediately return, Church suspected that he might have secured a gun, with intent to dispatch him, and therefore crept close to young Annawon, as security. The old man soon reappeared, bringing with him Philip's regalia, and, kneeling down before Church, to his great surprise, addressed him in English: "Great captain, you have killed Philip and conquered his country; for I believe that I and my company are the last that war against the English, so suppose the war is ended by your means, and therefore these things belong to you." He then handed him two broad belts elaborately worked in wampum, one of which reached from the shoulders nearly to the ground, "edged with red hair, from the Mahog's country;" two horns of powder, and a red cloth blanket. He said that Philip used to ornament himself with these upon great occasions.

All night long the two captains continued their converse, and Annawon detailed his adventures, and "gave an account of what mighty success he had formerly, in wars against many nations of Indians, when he served Asumequin (Massasoit), Philip's father."

The next day the party proceeded to Taunton, and Church, with Annawon in his company, went to Rhode Island, and so on to Plymouth. There, to his great sorrow, the authorities refused to spare the old chief, but put him to death. At the same time they executed Tispaquin, the last of Philip's great sachems, who had surrendered himself upon promise of mercy.

The war was now at an end, with the exception of a few "hunting excursions," after some stragglers of Philip's men who yet lurked in the woods. Such of the prisoners, now in the hands of the English, as had been active in hostilities, were put to death: the rest were sold in slavery in the colonies, or sent to toil in the West Indies. It was much discussed whether the poor boy who was so culpable as to be the son of Philip, should die. The clergymen seemed inclined to the belief that such should be his fate; Increase Mather cited the case of Hadad, saying that, "had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation." He was finally sent a slave to Bermuda.

Baylies thus sums up the disasters of the eventful period of Philip's hostilities: "In this war, which lasted but little more than a year and a half, six hundred Englishmen were killed. Thirteen towns in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, were destroyed, and many others greatly injured. Almost every family had lost a relative. Six hundred dwelling-houses had been burned. A vast amount, in goods and cattle, had been destroyed, and a vast debt created. But the result of the contest was decisive; the enemy was extinct; the fertile wilderness was opened, and the rapid extension of settlements evinced the growing prosperity of New England."

CHAPTER IX.

THE EASTERN INDIANS—THEIR FRIENDLY DISPOSITION—SEIZURE OF THOSE IMPLICATED IN PHILIP'S CONSPIRACY—FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR OF 1689—ATTACK ON COCHECO—MURDER OF MAJOR WALDRON—WAR OF 1702—CHURCH'S LAST CAMPAIGN—WAR OF 1722—CAPTAIN JOHN LOVEWELL.

THE services of Captain Benjamin Church, in the early Indian campaigns, did not end with the death of Philip and the reduction of the hostile tribes united by that chief in enmity against the colonists. In the war which afterwards broke out with the Indians of New Hampshire and Maine, the old soldier was again called upon to take the field.

Our accounts of the early history of these Eastern tribes are not very voluminous or connected. Some description is given, in Captain John Smith's narrative, of the government and division of the nations and tribes on the coast; and, in subsequent times, tales of noted sagamores and warriors, with detached incidents of adventure, are not wanting in interest.

The first English settlers in Maine and New Hampshire had little to complain of in the treatment they received from the aboriginal inhabitants: according to Hubbard, "Ever since the first settling of any English plantation in those parts about Kennebeck, for the space of about fifty years, the Indians always carried it fair, and held good correspondence with the English, until the news came of Philip's rebellion and rising against the inhabitants of Plimouth colony in the end of June, 1675; after which time it was apprehended by such as had the examination of the Indians about Kennebeck, that there was a general surmise amongst them that they should be required to



Capt. Benjamin Church.

assist the said Philip, although they would not own that they were at all engaged in the quarrel."

When Philip's forces were destroyed or dispersed, many of them took refuge at the East, and the search for and seizure of these served to arouse and keep alive hostile feelings which might otherwise have slumbered. By the contrivance of Major Waldron, a noted character among the first settlers at Cocheco (afterwards Dover), in New Hampshire, some four hundred Indians of various tribes, were decoyed into the power of the colonial troops by the pretence of a sham-fight exhibition. They were then examined, and all who were adjudged to have been connected with the war, to the number of over two hundred, were sent to Boston, where eight or ten of them were hanged, and the rest were sold as slaves.

Many scenes of depredation and bloodshed are described by historians of those early times previous to the regular campaigns of 1689, and the years ensuing, against the French and Indians. During the war of 1675-6, connected with Philip's conspiracy, the most important affairs were the burning, by the Indians, of the towns of Casco and Saco. Under the administration of Sir Edmund Andross, the conflicting claims to territory in Maine, between the Baron of St. Castine and English proprietors, brought about a war in which the neighboring Indian tribes were involved. With their usual success, the French excited the eastern Indians to espouse their cause, and a series of depredations upon the English colonists ensued.

At Cocheco (Dover), Major Waldron was still in authority, with a considerable force under his command, occupying five fortified buildings. In the summer of 1689, a party of Indians planned an attack upon this post, as well to strike a signal blow in behalf of their white allies, as to revenge the former wrong done to their friends by Waldron. The English considered themselves perfectly secure,

and kept no watch—a circumstance which had been observed by the enemy. On the 27th of June, two squaws obtained leave to sleep in each of the garrisoned houses. During the night they rose quietly, unbarred the doors, and, by appointed signals, announced to the warriors lurking without that the time was propitious for an attack.

The English were completely overpowered, fifty-two were killed or carried away captive; among the former was Major Waldron. The old warrior (he was eighty years of age) defended himself with astonishing strength and courage, but was finally struck down from behind. Bruised and mangled, he was placed in a chair upon a table, and the savages, gathering round, glutted their long-cherished vengeance by cutting and torturing the helpless captive. He was in bad odor with the Indians for having, as they alledged, defrauded them in former trading transactions. It was reported among them that he used to "count his fist as weighing a pound, also that his accounts were not crossed out according to agreement." Placed as above mentioned, upon a table, some of them "in turns gashed his naked breast, saying, 'I cross out my account.' Then cutting a joint from his finger, would say, 'Will your fist weigh a pound now?'"—(*Drake's edition of Church's Indian Wars.*) They continued these cruelties until he fainted from loss of blood, when they dispatched him. It is said, by the above author, that one of the squaws, to whom was assigned the duty of betraying Waldron's garrison, felt some compunction at the act of treachery, and endeavored, ineffectually, to warn the commandant by crooning the following verse:

"Oh, Major Waldo,
You great sagamore,
O what will you do,
Indians at your door!"

In September of this year (1689) Captain (now styled

Major) Church was commissioned by the authorities of the United Colonies to prosecute the war in Maine, and he sailed accordingly with his forces for Casco Bay. He had with him two hundred and fifty volunteers, English and friendly Indians, and two companies from Massachusetts. His arrival was seasonable, as a large party of Indians and French was ascertained to be in the vicinity, intending to destroy the place. Some smart skirmishing took place upon the succeeding day, but the enemy finally drew off.

When afterwards ordered home with his troops, Church bestirred himself to bring about some action on the part of the government for the more effectual protection of the unfortunate inhabitants of Casco (the country in the vicinity of the present town of Portland), but in vain; and in the ensuing spring the whole district was ravaged by the enemy. The English settlers at the East, after the event, no longer dared to remain exposed to attacks of the savages, and, deserting their homes, collected at the fortified post at Wells, in the south of Maine.

Church's second eastern expedition, in September, 1690, was against the Indian forts on the Androscoggin. With little resistance he drove off the occupants, released several English captives, and took prisoners several members of the families of the noted Sachems Warombo and Kankamagus. A number of Indian prisoners were brutally murdered by the successful party; but two old squaws were left to deliver a message to their own people that *Captain Church* had been there, and with him many Indians formerly adherents of King Philip; and to report further, as a warning, what great success he had met with in the war against the great sachem. Word was also left that if the fugitives "had a mind to see their wives and children, they should come to Wells' garrison." With respect to the massacre of prisoners on this occasion, we are left to infer that

a portion of them, at least, consisted of *women and children*. The old narrative here as elsewhere is rather blind, and deficient in detail, but if the facts were as above suggested, the whole history of these Indian wars does not present a more revolting instance of cold-blooded barbarity. That the act was done by Church's orders, or that it was countenanced by him, seems utterly incredible when compared with his usual course towards prisoners. Of one man, who was captured in the taking of Warombo's fort, it is said: "The soldiers being very rude, would hardly spare the Indian's life while in examination;" and it is possible that they might have committed the wanton butchery above mentioned without their commander's concurrence. We would not, however, endeavor to screen the guilty; and if Church is to be held responsible for the murder, it certainly must leave a black and indelible stain upon his character.

From the plundered fort Church proceeded to Casco, where he engaged the enemy, and beat them off, but not without the loss of about thirty of his own men in killed and wounded.

In August, 1692, Church was again commissioned by Sir William Phipps to undertake an expedition against the Indians at Penobscot; and, although he failed to surprise the enemy, who escaped in their canoes, he destroyed a quantity of their provision, and brought away a considerable amount of plunder.

A force, sent into Maine, in 1693, under Major Convers, was opposed by none of the natives, and, within a short time after, these miserable people were glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the English at Pemmaquid, where a strong fort had been erected in 1690. At this negotiation the hostile tribes delivered hostages as a security that they would cease depredations and renounce their allegiance to the French. Many of them were, notwithstanding, in-

duced to join the invasion under M. de Villiere, in the following year.

In this campaign, the first object was the destruction of the settlement on Oyster river, near Dover, New Hampshire, where twelve houses had been garrisoned and put in a state of defence. Five of these were forced, and nearly one hundred persons were killed or taken prisoners; the other strongholds made a successful defence, but fifteen unprotected houses were burned. Nothing of special interest occurred in connection with the Eastern Indians from this time until 1696. During the summer of that year, some blood was shed by the savages at Portsmouth and Dover; but the most important occurrence of the season was the reduction of the strong fort at Pemmaquid by the enemy. Church was also engaged in another eastern campaign in the months of August and September, but owing to orders received from the colonial authorities, he was impeded in the prosecution of his plans, and nothing of special moment was effected.

In January, 1699, the war with the French being at an end, the Indians of Maine and New Hampshire entered into a treaty of peace with the English colonies—acknowledging, by their principal sachems, allegiance to the King of England.

When war was again declared, in May, 1702, the old difficulties with the Indians were speedily renewed. Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, endeavored to preserve peace with these tribes, and concluded a negotiation with many of their chiefs, at Casco, in June of the following year. This appears to have been a mere blind on the part of the savages, then, as ever, favorable to the French; for only a few weeks subsequent to the treaty, a simultaneous attack was made upon the eastern English settlements. Every thing fell before the enemy; houses were burned, property of every kind was destroyed or plundered, and

one hundred and thirty of the inhabitants were slain or captured.

The news of the terrible calamities attendant on the destruction of Deerfield, in the winter of 1703-4, combined with what he had himself witnessed of Indian cruelties, incited Major Church to volunteer his further services against the enemy. "His blood boiled within him, making such impulses on his mind that he forgot all former treatments, which were enough to hinder any man, especially the said Major Church, from doing any further service." His offers were gladly accepted, and a very considerable force was put under his command, with a good supply of whale-boats, the necessity for which he had seen in former campaigns along the irregular and indented coast of Maine.

This was the last military duty undertaken by the old soldier, and it was performed with his usual skill and energy. The Indian towns of Minas and Chignecto were taken, and the enemy was successfully engaged at other points. The most noted event of the expedition was the night attack at Passamaquoddy. In the midst of the confusion incident to the marshalling of disorderly and undisciplined troops, an order was issued by Church for the destruction of a house, and of its inhabitants, who had refused to surrender. In his own words: "I hastily bid them pull it down, and *knock them on the head*, never asking whether they were French or Indians—they being all enemies alike to me." In a note to this transaction, Mr. Drake says: "It does not appear, from a long career of useful services, that Church was ever rash or cruel. From the extraordinary situation of his men, rendered doubly critical by the darkness of the night, and the almost certain intelligence that a great army of the enemy were at hand, is thought to be sufficient excuse for the measure." The major, in his own account, adds: "I most certainly

know that I was in an exceeding great passion, but not with those poor miserable enemies; for I took no notice of a half a dozen of the enemy, when at the same time I expected to be engaged with some hundreds of them. * * In this heat of action, every word that I then spoke I cannot give an account of; and I presume it is impossible." Quarter was shown to all who came out and submitted, upon requisition.

From the close of the war, and the conclusion of peace with France, in 1713, until 1722, there was little to disturb the eastern frontier, further than some contentions between the colonists and Indians arising out of disputed titles to land. A Frenchman named Ralle, of the order of Jesuits, resided, in 1721, among the Indians at Norridgewock, and being suspected by the English of exerting a pernicious influence over his flock, a party was sent, by the Massachusetts government, to seize upon his person. Ralle escaped, and the undertaking only hastened hostilities.

Indian depredations soon commenced, and war was regularly declared by Massachusetts. For three years the frontier settlements suffered severely. The English succeeded in breaking up the principal head-quarters of the enemy, viz: at the Indian castle some distance up the Penobscot, and at the village of Norridgewock.

At the taking of the latter place, Ralle, with from fifty to a hundred of his Indian comrades, perished.

One of the most noted among the English campaigners during this war, was the famous Captain John Lovewell, of Dunstable. His adventures, and particularly the fight at Pigwacket, on the Saco, in which he lost his life, were widely celebrated in the rude verse of the times.

This engagement was the last important event of the war; the Indians were greatly reduced in numbers, and, when no longer stimulated and supported by the French, were incapable of any systematic warlike operations.

THE IROQUOIS, OR SIX NATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL OUTLINES OF CHARACTER, ETC.—IMPRESSIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF NEW ENGLAND RESPECTING THE IROQUOIS—GARANGULA: HIS SPEECH TO M. DE LA BARRE.

None of the Indian nations of the United States have occupied a more important place in our national history, than the renowned confederacy which forms the subject of our present consideration.

Various New England tribes were reduced to a disgraceful tribute to the imperious Mohags, Mawhawks, Mohawks or Maquas; the great nation of Powhatan stood in awe of the warlike Massawomekes; and those associated in this powerful league had become a terror to all against whom they had lifted up their arms. They were called Iroquois by the French, who found their head-quarters on the St. Lawrence, where Montreal now stands, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Their native appellation was Aganuschioni (variously spelt and translated), and they were divided originally into five tribes. These were the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas and the Senecas. The Tuscaroras, from the south, were afterwards united with them, and formed the sixth nation. Each tribe was sub-divided into classes, distinguished by the "totems," or symbols of the tortoise, the bear, the wolf, the beaver, the deer, the falcon, the plover, and the crane.

Some very singular usages were connected with this classification. Among other things, marriage was prohibited between individuals bearing the same totem, a restriction which operated strongly to extend the ties of family connection. Each of the nations was divided in the same manner, and the distinctive badge gave its bearer peculiar privileges among those of his own class, when away from home.

The first military exploits recorded of the Iroquois, with the exception of native tradition, are their battles with the Adirondacks, in which they were engaged when first known by the French. Becoming skilled in war, and being of a bold, adventurous spirit, after finally defeating the Adirondacks, the five nations extended their conquests to the south and west. The Mohawks, although not the most numerous portion of the united tribes, furnished the fiercest and most redoubted warriors. To give an idea of the estimation in which they were held by the Indians of New England, we cite the following account, given by Gookin, in his historical collections, written in 1674, of the first of the tribe with whom the eastern colonists held any intercourse.

"These Maquas are given to rapine and spoil; and had for several years been in hostility with our neighbour Indians, as the Massachusetts, Pautuckets, &c., &c. And, in truth, they were, in time of war, so great a terrour to all the Indians before named, though ours were far more in number than they, the appearance of four or five Maquas in the woods, would frighten them from their habitations and cornfields, and reduce many of them to get together in forts." In September, of 1665, "there were five Mawhawks or Maquas, all stout and lusty young men, and well armed, that came into one John Taylor's house, in Cambridge, in the afternoon. They were seen to come out from a swamp not far from the house." Each had a gun,

pistol, hatchet, and long knife, and "the people of the house perceived that their speech was different from our neighbour Indians; for these Maquas speak hollow and through the throat, more than our Indians; and their language is understood but by very few of our neighbour Indians."

It seems these Mohawks came with the intention of being apprehended, that they might see the ways of the English, and display, at the same time, their own courage and daring. They made no resistance when a party came to seize them, but, "at their being imprisoned, and their being loaden with irons, they did not appear daunted or dejected; but as the manner of those Indians is, they sang night and day, when they were awake."

On being brought before the court at Boston, they disavowed any evil intent towards the English, saying that they were come to avenge themselves upon their Indian enemies. "They were told that it was inhumanity, and more like wolves than men to travel and wander so far from home merely to kill and destroy men, women, and children,—for they could get no riches of our Indians, who were very poor,—and to do this in a secret skulking manner, lying in ambushment, thickets, and swamps, by the way side, and so killing people in a base and ignoble manner," &c.—"To these things they made answer shortly: 'It was their trade of life: they were bred up by their ancestors to act in this way towards their enemies.'"

All the Indians, in the vicinity of Boston, were eager that these captives should be put to death, but the court adopted the wiser policy of sending them home in safety, with presents and a letter to their sachem, cautioning him against allowing any of his people to make war against the peaceable Indians under the protection of the English.

About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois, having annihilated the powerful nation of the Eries,

occupied no small portion of that vast extent of country, lying between the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. They even extended their hostile incursions far south and west of these great boundaries. The present state of New York contained their principal establishments, and the picturesque river and lakes upon which they dwelt, still perpetuate the names of the confederate tribes. These people held intercourse with the whites, of a very different nature from that which characterized the reduction and humiliation of the unfortunate natives of New England. Placed as they were between powerful colonies of contending European nations; their favor courted upon terms of equality by emissaries from either party; the authority of their chiefs acknowledged, and the solemnity of their councils respected by the whites; and conscious of proud superiority over all surrounding native tribes, it might well be expected that they would entertain the highest sense of their national importance.

No American tribe ever produced such an array of renowned warriors and orators as those immortalized in the history of the Six Nations. Such a regular system of federal government, where the chief-men of each member of the league met in one grand council, to sustain the interests of their tribe, or enforce the views of their constituents upon subjects of state policy, in matters of vital importance to the whole nation, elicited all the powers of rude native eloquence. Never in the history of the world has the stirring effect of accomplished oratory been more strikingly displayed than in the councils of these untaught sages. The speeches of Logan, Red-Jacket, and others, fortunately preserved, have been long considered masterpieces of forcible declamation.

The address of Garangula, or Grand Gueule, to the Canadian governor, M. de la Barre, has been often tran-

scribed, but is so strikingly characteristic of Indian style that we must find place for at least a portion of it. About the year 1684, the French, being at peace with the Iroquois, took the opportunity to strengthen and enlarge their dominions by fortifying and adding to their posts upon the western waters. In carrying out this purpose, they sent large supplies of ammunition to their Indian allies; tribes hostile to the confederacy. The Iroquois took prompt measures to check this transfer of means for their destruction, and the French governor, angry at their interference, determined to humble them by a decisive campaign. He collected a strong force at Cadaraqui fort; but, a sickness breaking out among his troops, he was obliged to give over, or delay the prosecution of his purpose. He therefore procured a meeting with the old Onondaga sachem, and other Indian deputies at Kaihoage, on Lake Ontario, for a conference. He commenced by recapitulating the injuries received from the Five Nations, by the plunder of French traders, and, after demanding ample satisfaction, threatened the destruction of the nation, if his claims were disregarded. He also falsely asserted that the governor of New York had received orders from the English court to assist the French army in the proposed invasion.

The old chief, undisturbed by these menaces, having taken two or three turns about the apartment, stood before the governor, and, after a courteous and formal prologue, addressed him as follows: (we cite from Drake's Book of the North American Indians) "Yonondio; you must have believed, when you left Quebeck, that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflown the banks, that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, surely you must have dreamt so, and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived,

since that I, and the warriors here present, are come to assure you that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks are yet alive. I thank you in their name, for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet that has been so often dyed in the blood of the French.

"Hear, Yonondio; I do not sleep; I have my eyes open; and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain, at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas. But Grangula says, that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French. I see Yonondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by inflicting this sickness upon them.

"Hear, Yonondio; our women had taken their clubs, our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them, and kept them back when your messenger, Akouessan, came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it.

"Hear, Yonondio; we plundered none of the French, but those that carried arms, powder and ball to the Twightwies and Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who break all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all those arms that they have taken, and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words."

The orator continued in the same strain, asserting the independence and freedom of his nation, and giving substantial reasons for knocking the Twightwies and Chic-

taghicks on the head. He concluded by magnanimously offering a present of beaver to the governor, and by inviting all the company present to an entertainment. At the end of each important section of a speech, it was usual for the speaker to proffer a belt of wampum, to be kept in perpetual memory of that portion of his oration, a circumstance explanatory of the concluding words of the above quotation.

CHAPTER II.

IROQUOIS TRADITIONS RELATIVE TO THEIR FORMER HISTORY—A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES BELONGING TO THE CONFEDERACY, AND THE MANNER OF THEIR UNION—INCIDENTS OF EARLY WARFARE.

Some fanciful tales of a supernatural origin from the heart of a mountain; of a migration to the eastern seaboard; and of a subsequent return to the country of lakes and rivers where they finally settled, comprise most that is noticeable in the native traditions of the Six Nations, prior to the grand confederation. Many of the ancient fortifications, the remains of which are still visible through the state of New York, were said to have been built for defence while the tribes were disjoined, and hostile to each other.

The period when it was finally concluded to adjust all differences, and to enter into a league of mutual protection and defence, is altogether uncertain. The most distinguished authors who have given the subject their attention, incline to the opinion that this took place within less than a century anterior to the English colonization in the east. Whatever may have been the precise time of the new organization, its results were, as we have seen, brilliant in the extreme. None of the ruder nations of Eastern

America have ever displayed such a combination of qualities that command respect as those of whom we are now treating. The nature of the league was decidedly democratic; arbitrary power was lodged in the hands of no ruler, nor was any tribe allowed to exercise discretional authority over another. A singular unanimity was generally observable in their councils; the rights and opinions of minorities were respected; and, in no instance, were measures adopted which met the sanction of but a bare majority.

We are told that for a long period before the revolution, the Iroquois chiefs and orators held up their own confederation as an example for the imitation of the English colonies.

Each tribe had one principal sachem, who, with an undefined number of associates, took his post in the great councils of the nation. A grave and decent deliberation was seen in all their assemblies, forming a striking contrast to the trickery and chicane, or noisy misrule too often visible in the legislative halls of enlightened modern nations.

The Mohawks were esteemed the oldest of the tribes, and, as they were always the most noted in warlike transactions, one of their sachems usually occupied the position of commander-in-chief of the active forces of the united people. The settlement of this tribe was in eastern New York, upon the Mohawk river, and along the shores of the Hudson. From their villages, in these districts, their war-parties ravaged or subdued the feebler nations at the east and south, and their favor was only obtained by tribute and submission.

Next in order, proceeding westward, dwelt the Oneidas, whose central locality, supplying the place of a state capital for the national council, was the celebrated Oneida stone. This mass of rock, crowning the summit of a hill which commands a beautiful view of the valley, is still

pointed out in the town of Stockbridge, about fifteen or twenty miles south-east of the Oneida lake. This tribe is supposed to have been the last of the Five Nations to have adopted a separate name and government, in early ages, prior to the grand union. It produced bold and enterprizing warriors, who extended their excursions far to the south, and by some of whom the sixth tribe—the Tuscaroras—was first conducted northward.

The Onondagas occupied the country between the Oneida and Cayuga lakes. According to some theories, all the other tribes were derived from this, and certain it is that the civil ruler of the confederacy was always from Onondaga, and here was ever the grand central council-fire. Monarchs of the tribe were said to have reigned, in regular succession, from the first period of its nationality to the time of Europeon colonization.

In near proximity to each other, upon the beautiful lakes which still bear their name, were settled the Cayugas and Senecas. The last-mentioned tribe has always been by far the most numerous of those united by the league.

The Tuscaroras were, by their own account, a branch from the original stock of the Iroquois. Migrating first to the west, and thence south-easterly, they had finally settled upon the Neuse and Tar rivers, in North Carolina. Surrounded by hostile Indians, who proved unable to cope with the interlopers, these warlike people maintained their position until early in the eighteenth century. They then endeavored to exterminate the English colonists of their vicinity. On an appointed day, (September 22, 1711,) divided in small parties, they entered the villages of the whites, in a manner intended to ward off suspicion, and attempted a general massacre. Other coast Indians were involved in the conspiracy.

One hundred and thirty whites are said to have perished on that day; but so far from being a successful blow

SENECA LAKE.

against the advance of the colonies, the plot only aroused a spirit of retaliation, which resulted in the expulsion of the tribe. With the assistance of forces from South Carolina and Virginia, the war was carried on vigorously; and in March of 1713, the main fort of the Tuscaroras, upon Tar river, to which they had retreated, was stormed by Colonel Moore, and eight hundred prisoners were taken.

Being now reduced to submission, such of the tribe as remained in Carolina yielded to the requirements and regulations of their conquerors. The major portion moved to New York, and formed the sixth nation of the Iroquois. They were established in the immediate neighborhood of the Oneidas.

Many strange legends of early warfare between the Iroquois and distant tribes at the south and west have been preserved. The particulars of some of these narratives can be relied upon, while others are evidently exaggerated and distorted in the tradition. At the south, the most famous of their opponents were the great nation of the Delawares, the Cherokees, and the ancient tribe from whom our principal chain of mountains derive a name. They always claimed that the Lenni Lenape, or Delawares, were a conquered people, and assumed the haughtiness of superiors in all their conferences and dealings with them. No hostilities took place between the two nations after European settlements were established in the country.

The Cherokee war gave rather an opportunity for displays of individual energy and daring, than for any decisive exhibition of national power. The distance to be traversed was so great, that it was never undertaken by any large body of warriors. Small parties, who could make their way unperceived into the heart of the enemies' country, and retire as stealthily with their trophies of scalps, frequently sought such opportunity of proving their hardi-

SENECA LAKE.

hood. One of the stories told of these early exploits, is that of the Seneca warrior, Hiadeoni. He is said to have started alone on a war-path, and to have penetrated the country of the Cherokees, supported by such provisions as he could procure on the route, and a little parched corn which he carried with him when he set out.

Prowling about the enemies' villages, he managed to dispatch two men and to secure their scalps. He then started on his return, and, late in the evening, killed and scalped a young man whom he saw coming out of a retired wigwam. The hut appeared to be empty, and he could not resist the temptation to enter it in search of plunder; especially that he might satisfy his craving for tobacco.

While there, the young man's mother entered the wigwam, and, mistaking Hiadeoni, who had thrown himself upon the bed, for her son, told him that she was going away for the night. The weary Seneca, seduced by the ease of a long-unaccustomed couch, fell into a sound slumber, from which he was only awakened by the old woman's return in the morning. Taking advantage of a moment when she had left the hut, to slip out, he made the best of his way northward, but the alarm had been given, and it was only by his great swiftness that he escaped. He carried the three scalps in triumph to his own people.

Many similar legends are preserved among the Indians, of the bravery and determined spirit of revenge in which their forefathers gloried. One of those which has been given with the greatest particularity, is the noted expedition of the Adirondack chief Piskaret and his four associates. In the long and bloody war between that tribe and the Five Nations, the latter had attained the ascendancy by a series of victories, and the five warriors alluded to undertook to wipe away the disgrace of defeat. Proceeding up the Sorel, in a single canoe, they fell in with five boat-loads of the enemy, and immediately commenced their

death-song, as if escape were impossible and resistance useless. As the Iroquois approached, a sudden discharge from the Adirondack muskets, which were loaded with small chain-shot, destroyed the frail birch-bark canoes of their opponents. At such a disadvantage, the Iroquois were easily knocked on the head as they floundered in the water: as many as could be safely secured were taken alive, and tortured to death at their captors' leisure. None of Piskaret's companions would accompany him upon a second war-path which he proposed. They had acquired glory enough, and were content to remain in the enjoyment of a well-earned reputation, without undergoing further hardships and danger. The bold chief therefore started alone for the heart of the enemies' country. Using every precaution for concealment and deception known to savages; reversing his snow-shoes to mislead a pursuing party as to the direction he had taken; and carefully choosing a route where it would be difficult to track him, he reached one of the Iroquois towns. Lying closely concealed during the day, he stole into the wigwams of his enemies on two successive nights, and murdered and scalped the sleeping occupants. The third night a guard was stationed at every lodge, but Piskaret, stealthily waiting an opportunity, knocked one of the watchmen on the head, and fled, hotly pursued by a party from the village. His speed was superior to that of any Indian of his time, and, through the whole day, he kept just sufficiently in advance of his pursuers to excite them to their utmost exertions. At night, they lay down to rest, and, wearied with the day's toil, the whole party fell asleep. Piskaret, perceiving this, silently killed and scalped every man of them, and carried home his trophies in safety.

The Iroquois were generally at enmity with the French, and, within a few years after the futile attempt on the part of De la Barre, which we have mentioned in a preceding

chapter, scenes of frightful cruelty and bloodshed were enacted on both sides. The confederacy was then, as long afterwards, in the English interest, and the conquered Hurons, or Wyandots, whom they had driven far westward, naturally espoused the cause of the French. Having, however, no cause for ill-will against the English, except as being allies of their foes, the Hurons were not unwilling to hold intercourse with them for purposes of profitable traffic.

A strange piece of duplicity, conducted with true Indian cunning by Adario, or the Rat, sachem of the Dinondadies, a Wyandot tribe, was the immediate cause of hostilities. He left his head-quarters, at Michilimackinac, with one hundred warriors, whether with intent to make an incursion upon the Iroquois, or merely upon a sort of scout, to keep himself informed of the movements of the contending parties, does not appear. He stopped at the French fort of Cadaraqui, and learned from the officer in command that a peace was about to be concluded between the French and Iroquois; deputies for which purpose were even then on their way from the Six Nations to Montreal.

Nothing could be more distasteful to the Rat than a treaty of this character, and he promptly determined to create a breach between the negotiating parties. He therefore lay in wait for the ambassadors; fell upon them; and took all who were not slain in the conflict prisoners. He pretended, in discourse with these captives, that he was acting under the direction of the French authorities, and when the astonished deputies made answer that they were bound upon peaceful embassy, in accordance with the invitation of the French, he assumed all the appearance of astonishment and indignation at being made an instrument for so treacherous an act. He immediately set his prisoners at liberty, gave them arms, and advised them to rouse up their people to avenge such foul injustice.

By this, and other equally artful management, Adario stirred up the most uncontrollable rage in the minds of the Iroquois against the French, and a long and disastrous war followed. It was in vain that the Canadian governor attempted to explain the true state of affairs. The Iroquois ever held the French in suspicion, and would not be disabused. They invaded Canada with an irresistible force. We have no record of any period in the history of America in which the arms of the natives were so successful. Twelve hundred warriors passed over to the island upon which Montreal is situated, and laid waste the country. Nearly a thousand of the French are said to have been slain or reserved for death by fire and torture. Neither age nor sex proved any protection, and the scenes described surpass in horror any thing before or since experienced by the whites at the hands of the Indians.

The war continued for years, and the name of Black Kattle, the most noted war-chief of the leagued nations, became a word of terror. He fought successfully against superior numbers of the French; and it is astonishing to read of the trifling loss which his bands sustained in many of their most desperate engagements.

The great orator of the nation, at this period, was named Decanisora; he appeared more prëeminently than any other in all the public negotiations of the tribe, and was one of the deputies who were duped by the subtle contrivance of Adario.

We have already mentioned that the Six Nations generally favored the English, and that between them and the French, feelings of the bitterest animosity prevailed. The recollection of the scenes which attended the sack of Montreal must constantly have strengthened this hatred on the part of the Canadians, while, on the other hand, the Indians could point to acts of equal atrocity and cold-blooded cruelty exercised towards some of their own number

when taken captive. Meanwhile, the English agents were assiduous in cultivating the friendship of the powerful confederacy whose sagacity and good faith in council, and whose strength in battle, had been so thoroughly tested. In the year 1710, three Iroquois and two Mohegan sachems were invited to visit the English court, and they sailed for England accordingly. The greatest interest was felt by high and low in their appearance and demeanor. They were royally accoutered, and presented to Queen Anne with courtly ceremony. The authenticity of the set speeches recorded as having been delivered by them on this occasion, has been shrewdly called in question. The Spectator, of April 27th, 1711, in a letter written to show how the absurdities of English society might strike a foreigner, gives a sort of diary as having been written by one of these sachems. The article opens thus: "When the four Indian Kings were in this country, about a twelvemonth ago, I often mixed with the rabble, and followed them a whole day together, being wonderfully struck with the sight of every thing that is new or uncommon." The writer particularizes "our good brother E. Tow O. Koam, king of the Rivers," and speaks of "the kings of Granajah (Canajoharie) and of the Six Nations." This latter appellation, as observed by Mr. Drake, seems to call in question the correctness of the date usually assigned to the event of the annexation of the Tuscaroras.

CHAPTER III.

IMPORTANT CHARACTERS AND EVENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—BRANT—CRESAP'S WAR, AND HISTORY OF LOGAN.

DURING the long and bloody wars between the English and French, the Six Nations were continually involved in hostilities, occupying, as they did, a position between the contending parties. To describe all the part they took in these transactions, would be to give a history of the war. This is far from our purpose to undertake, and, in bringing down events to the period of the American revolution we shall bestow but a passing notice upon some of the more prominent incidents in which the Iroquois, as a nation, or distinguished individuals of their tribe, bore a conspicuous part.

Joseph Brant,—Thayendanagea, (as he usually signed himself,) was born in the year 1742. It has been a matter much disputed whether he was a half-breed, or of pure Indian descent, and also whether he was entitled to the dignity of a chief by birth, or rose to it by his own exertions. His biographer, Stone, pronounces him to have been the son of "Tehowaghwengaraghkwin, a full-blooded Mohawk, of the Wolf tribe." His parents resided in the valley of the Mohawk, but were upon an expedition to the Ohio river when Joseph was born. Young Brant was early taken under the patronage of Sir William Johnson, the English colonial agent for Indian affairs, under whose command he gained his first knowledge and experience of military affairs. Many have expressed the opinion that Brant was a son of Sir William; but we can account for their mutual interest in each other's welfare upon other grounds than those of natural affection. Sir William Johnson was idolized by the whole Mohawk tribe for the favor and respect which he had shown them, and for his

princely hospitality. With the family of Brant he was more closely connected by a union with Molly, a sister of Joseph's, who lived with him as a mistress until his death.

In the year 1755, Brant, then but thirteen years of age, took part with his tribe in the battle at Lake George, where the French, under Baron Dieskaru, were defeated by Sir William Johnson and his forces. Old king Hendrick or Soi-en-ga-rah-ta, the noted sachem of the Mohawks, perished on this occasion. Hendrick was nearly seventy years of age, but years had not diminished his energy or courage. Historians vie with each other in the praises which they bestow upon the eloquence, bravery, and integrity of this old chief. He was intimate with his distinguished English commander, and it was between them that the amusing contention of dreams occurred, that has been so often narrated. With the Iroquois a dream was held to import verity, insomuch that it must be fulfilled if practicable. Sir William (then general) Johnson had displayed some splendid and costly uniforms before the eyes of his admiring guests, at one of his munificent entertainments. Old Hendrick came to him one morning, shortly afterwards, and gravely affirmed that he had dreamed of receiving one of these gorgeous suits as a present. The general instantly presented it to him, but took the opportunity to retaliate by dreaming of the cession of three thousand acres of valuable land. The sachem was not backward in carrying out his own principles, but at the same time avowed his intention of dreaming no more with one whose dreams were so hard.

To return to young Brant: after accompanying his patron in further campaigns of the bloody French war, he was placed by him, together with several other young Indians, at an institution in Lebanon, Connecticut, called the Moor School, after its founder, to receive an English education. This was about the year 1760. After attaining some pro-



JOSEPH BRANT—THAYENDANEGEA

ficiency in the first rudiments of literature, which he afterwards turned to good account, Brant left the seminary, and again engaged in a life of active warfare. He was employed in the war with Pontiac and the Ottawas, but the particulars of his services are not handed down to us. In 1765, we find him married and settled in his own house at the Mohawk valley. Here he spent a quiet and peaceful life for some years, acting as interpreter in negotiations between his people and the whites, and lending his aid to the efforts of the missionaries who were engaged in the work of teaching and converting the Indians. Those who visited his house, spoke in high terms of his kindness and hospitality.

On the death of Sir William Johnson, in June, 1774, his son-in-law, Colonel Guy Johnson, held his office as Indian agent; while his son and heir, Sir John Johnson, succeeded to the paternal estates. Colonel Guy continued the favor shown by his father to Brant, and appointed him his secretary.

In the spring of this same year a war commenced, the causes of which have been variously represented, but whose consequences were truly disastrous. We allude to the scenes in western Virginia and Pennsylvania, so intimately connected with the names of Logan and Cresap. Colonel Michael Cresap has been, for many years, held up to public odium by nearly every historian, as the cruel and wanton murderer, whose unscrupulous conduct was the sole or principal cause of the bloody Indian war of which we are now to speak, and which is still spoken of as Cresap's war. On the other hand, some recent investigations, made public by Mr. Brantz Mayer, of Baltimore, in an address delivered before the Maryland Historical Society, seems to remove no little portion of this responsibility from the shoulders of Cresap, or at least prove that the acts with which his name has been so long associated

were not directly attributable to him. He is shown to have been a prudent and cautious man, who exerted his influence to restrain the reckless adventurers under his command from wanton outrages upon the Indians. We shall not attempt to decide upon the question as to how far he was blameable, but give, in few words, the circumstances which brought about hostilities.

Logan was the son of Shikellimus, a Cayuga chief, who had removed to the banks of the Susquehanna, and ruled over those of the Iroquois who had settled in that vicinity. Logan himself had attained authority farther to the westward, upon the Ohio, in the Shawanese country. He had ever been of a peaceful disposition, and friendly to the whites.

A party of land-hunters, who had chosen Cresap as their leader, are said to have committed the first direct acts of hostility, in retaliation for a supposed theft of some of their horses. We are told that they fell upon and treacherously murdered several of a party of Indians whom they fell in with, on the bank of the Ohio, below the spot where Wheeling now stands, and that among the slain were some relatives of Logan. With the next rupture, Cresap had certainly no connection. It occurred at a white settlement, thirty or forty miles further up the river. Two men, named Greathouse and Tomlinson, were the principal leaders in the affair. They had ascertained that the Indians, then encamped on the other side of the river, intended an attack upon the place, in retaliation for the murders committed by Cresap's men. Finding, on examination, that the Indians were too numerous to be safely assaulted in their camp, Greathouse opened a communication with them, and invited them to come and drink and feast at his house. A party of armed whites lay concealed in a separate apartment, and when the Indians became intoxicated, slaughtered the whole number, of both sexes, spar-

ing only one child. A brother and sister of Logan were among the slain. Mr. Mayer's account (in which the scene is laid at the house of "Baker," instead of Greathouse,) is as follows:

"The evening before the tragedy, a squaw came over to Baker's, and aroused the attention of the inmates by her tears and manifest distress. For a long time she refused to disclose the cause of her sorrow, but at last, when left alone with Baker's wife, confessed that the Indians had resolved to kill the white woman and her family the next day; but as she loved her, and did not wish to see her slain, she had crossed the river to divulge the plot, so as to enable her friend to escape." Next day four unarmed Indians, with three squaws and a child, came over to Baker's house, where twenty-one men were concealed, in anticipation of attack, as above mentioned. The party became intoxicated, and Logan's brother was insulting and abusive: at the same time canoes filled with painted and armed warriors were seen starting from the opposite shore; upon which the massacre commenced as above stated. After this savage murder of women and unarmed men, the whites left the house, and, firing upon the canoes, prevented their landing.

These occurrences, with the death of the old Delaware chief, Bald Eagle, who was causelessly murdered, scalped, and set adrift down the river in his canoe, and the murder of the Shawanees sachem, Silver Heels, brought down the vengeance of the aggrieved parties upon the devoted settlements.

The ensuing summer witnessed terrible scenes of surprise and massacre, the chief mover in which was the injured Logan. Stirred as he was by revenge, the natural kindness of his heart was shown in his disposition towards captives, whom, in various instances, he favored and saved from Indian cruelties.

The hostile tribes were those of the Iroquois who dwelt in the western country, the Shawanees, the Delawares, the Iowas, and other nations of the west. Indecisive skirmishes occupied the summer, and not until the 10th of October was any general engagement brought about. On that day a battle was fought at Point Pleasant, where the Great Kanawha empties into the Ohio, between the combined forces of the Indians, and the Virginia troops, under Colonel Andrew Lewis. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, was to cöoperate by a movement upon the other bank of the river, but did not actually take any part in the contest.

The Indians numbered probably over a thousand, and were led by Logan and the great warrior Cornstock. Never had the natives fought more desperately, or made a stand against European troops with more determined firmness. They had prepared a sort of breast-work, behind which they maintained their position, in spite of the repeated charges of the whites, until night. They were at last driven from their works by a company detached to fall upon their rear, and, crossing the Ohio, the survivors retreated westward.

At Chilicothe, on the Sciota, the chiefs held a grand consultation; and their principal warrior, Cornstock, seeing that the rest were determined upon no certain plan of proceeding, expressed his own intention of concluding a peace. He accordingly sought Lord Dunmore, who was approaching the camp on the Sciota, and brought about a series of conferences, whereby hostilities were for the time stayed.

Logan would take no part in these negotiations; he is reported to have said that "he was yet like a mad dog; his bristles were up, and were not yet quite fallen; but the good talk then going forward might allay them." A messenger was sent by Lord Dunmore to strive to appease

him, and it was upon that occasion that the Indian chief delivered himself of those eloquent expressions that have attained such a world-wide celebrity. He walked into the woods with Gibson, who had been sent to visit him, and, seating himself upon a log, "burst into tears," and gave utterance to his feelings in these words, as they were written down and reported at the time:

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his camp, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as I passed, and said: 'Logan is the friend of the white man!' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

The subsequent history of this renowned warrior is soon told. He led a wandering, intemperate life for several years, and took part in the wars at the west in 1779 and 1780. He is described as having become melancholy and wretched in the extreme, and as being deprived of the full use of his reason by the pernicious habit of indulging in strong drink. He came to his death in the latter year under singular circumstances. He had, as he supposed, killed his wife during a fit of intoxication, and fled from

Detroit, where he had been present at an Indian council, to evade the punishment awarded by the native code. On his way towards Sandusky, he fell in with a large party of Indians, among whom was a relative of his, named Tod-kah-dohs, and whom he took to be the one appointed to avenge the murder. According to Mr. Mayer's account, "rashly bursting forth into frantic passion, he exclaimed, That the whole party should fall beneath his weapons. Tod-kah-dohs, seeing their danger, and observing that Logan was well armed, told his companions that their only safety was in getting the advantage of the desperate man by prompt action. Whilst leaping from his horse, to execute his dreadful threat, Tod-kah-dohs levelled a shot-gun within a few feet of the savage, and killed him on the spot."

It may well be supposed the whole of the Iroquois tribe should have been roused to indignation by the occurrence which we have described, and in which some of their own brethren had borne so conspicuous a part. We are told that this was the case with all of them except the Oneidas, and that disaffection towards the colonies had become general among the western tribes.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF BRANT CONTINUED: CONNECTION OF THE SIX NATIONS WITH THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

In the year 1775, when difficulties between the American colonies and the old country were rife, and the prospect of a long and desperate contention kept the minds of all in fear and anxiety, it was felt to be necessary on the part of the Americans, and politic on the part of the English, to use every endeavor to secure the services of the Six

Nations. The remembrance of their noble patron, Sir William Johnson, caused the Mohawks and many others of the confederacy to adhere firmly to his son-in-law and successor, Guy Johnson, and when he fled westward to the lakes, to avoid the danger of capture by the Americans, Brant and the principal warriors of the tribe accompanied him. A great meeting was held by them, to discuss the policy which they should pursue; after which, Johnson and his chiefs proceeded to Montreal, followed by a strong body of Indian warriors. Sir Guy Carleton encouraged the Iroquois sachems to accept commissions under the king, and, what with his promises, their attachment to the Johnson family, and the remembrance of old pledges, they were thoroughly confirmed in their purpose of taking a decided stand in favor of the royal cause.

The efforts of the Americans proved less successful. By the aid of a Mr. Kirkland, missionary to the Oneidas, the favor of that tribe was greatly conciliated. His efforts were assisted by the influence of the Indians of Stockbridge, a town in western Massachusetts. These were the remains of various celebrated tribes which had long ceased to maintain a separate national existence. The principal portion of them were descendants of the ancient Moheakannuk, Mohicans, or River Indians, who dwelt on the banks of the Hudson in the early times of American colonization; but with them were associated many of the Narragansetts and Pequots, from Rhode Island and Connecticut. They were entirely under the influence of the Americans, and favorable to their cause.

A very touching incident of private history, connected with this collection of dismembered tribes after their removal westward, has been immortalized in the beautiful poetical legend by Bryant, entitled "Monument Mountain." The mountain stands in Great Barrington, (western Massachusetts,) overlooking the rich and picturesque valley of

the Housatonic. The following note is appended to the poem. "Until within a few years past, small parties of that tribe used to arrive, from their settlement, in the western part of the state of New York, on visits to Stockbridge, the place of their nativity and former residence. A young woman, belonging to one of these parties, related to a friend of the author the story on which the poem of Monument Mountain is founded. An Indian girl had formed an attachment for her cousin, which, according to the customs of the tribe, was unlawful. She was, in consequence, seized with a deep melancholy, and resolved to destroy herself. In company with a female friend, she repaired to the mountain, decked out for the occasion in all her ornaments, and after passing the day on the summit, in singing, with her companion, the traditional songs of her nation, she threw herself headlong from the rock, and was killed."

* * * "Here the friends sat them down,
And sang all day old songs of love and death,
And decked the poor wan victim's hair with flowers,
And prayed that safe and swift might be her way
To the calm world of sunshine, where no grief
Makes the heart heavy, and the eyelids red."

A conical pile of stones marks the spot where she was buried, on the southern slope of the mountain.

The regular successor to old king Hendric, among the Mohawks, was Little Abraham, a chief well disposed towards the Americans, and who remained in the Mohawk valley when Johnson and his followers fled to Canada. He appears to have possessed but little authority during the subsequent difficulties, and Brant, by a sort of universal consent among those in the English interest, obtained the position of principal chief. He was commissioned as a captain in the British army, and, in the fall of 1775,

sailed to England, to hold personal conference with the officers of government.

He was an object of much curiosity at London, and attracted the attention of persons of high rank and great celebrity. His court dress was a brilliant equipment modeled upon the fashions of his own race; but ordinarily he appeared in the usual citizen's dress of the time.

Confirmed in his loyalty to the English crown, Brant returned to America in the ensuing spring. He was secretly landed at some spot near New York, and made the best of his way to Canada. The journey was fraught with danger to such a traveler, through a disturbed and excited community, but the native sagacity and watchfulness of the Indian enabled our chief to avoid them.

Brant was gladly received, and the services of his warlike Mohawks were promptly called into requisition. He led his people at the affair of "the Cedars," which terminated so disastrously for the American interests. We cannot minutely follow his movements, nor those of the several Iroquois tribes, for a considerable period subsequent to these events. Those were stirring times, and in the momentous detail of the birth of American independence, it is not always easy to follow out any private history.

Colonel Stone, in his life of Brant, gives us the following speech, as coming, at the beginning of the ensuing year, from the chiefs of the Oneidas to Colonel Elmore, commandant at fort Schuyler. He does not attempt to explain the full import of it:

"FORT SCHUYLER, Jan. 19th, 1777.

"*Speech of the Oneida Chiefs to Colonel Elmore.*

"BROTHER: We are sent here by the Oneida chiefs, in conjunction with the Onondagas. They arrived at our village yesterday. They gave us the melancholy news that the grand council-fire at Onondaga was extinguished. We have lost, out of their town, by death, ninety, among

whom are three principal sachems. We, the remaining part of the Onondagas, do now inform our brethren that there is no longer a council-fire at the capital of the Six Nations. However, we are determined to use our feeble endeavours to support peace through the confederate nations. But let this be kept in mind, that the council-fire is extinguished. It is of importance to our well-being, that this be immediately communicated to General Schuyler, and also to our brothers the Mohawks. In order to effect this, we deposit this belt with Tekeyanedonhotte, Colonel Elmore, commander at Fort Schuyler, who is sent here by General Schuyler to transact all matters relative to peace. We therefore request him to forward this intelligence, in the first place to General Herkimer, desiring him to communicate it to the Mohawk Castle near to him, and then to Major Fonda, requesting him to immediately communicate it to the lower castle of the Mohawks. Let the belt then be forwarded to General Schuyler, that he may know that our council-fire is extinguished, and can no longer burn."

Towards the close of the winter of 1777, it was found that the Indians were collecting in force at Oghkwaga, on the Susquehanna, and the fears of the colonial population of the vicinity were justly excited, although no open demonstrations of hostility had been made by them. In the course of the spring, Brant and his followers proceeded across the country, from Canada to Oghkwaga. He had disagreed with his superior, Guy Johnson. The whites were in great doubt as to what course this renowned chief would take in the struggle then going forward, but he seemed only to occupy himself in collecting and disciplining his warriors. It was afterwards ascertained that he was the leader of a party of Indians who threatened the little fortification at Cherry-Valley, in the month of May.

The only blood shed upon the occasion was that of Lieutenant Wormwood, a young officer whom the Indians waylaid and shot, as he was leaving the place, accompanied by a single companion, bearing dispatches. Brant is said to have scalped him with his own hand. The Indian chief was deceived as to the strength of the place, by the duplicity of the dispatches, and by the circumstance that a number of boys were going through military evolutions at the settlement, whom he mistook, in the distance, for soldiers. He therefore retired without making any further demonstration.

In June, he visited Unadilla, on the small river of the same name, which empties into the Susquehanna, forming the boundary between Otsego and Chenango counties. His purpose was to procure provisions, which were perforce furnished him; as he avowed his intention to take them by violence, if necessary. At a conference held, at this time, with some of the authorities, Brant expressed himself decidedly in favor of the royal cause, alluding to the old covenants and treaties which his nation had in former times entered into with the king, and complaining of ill-treatment received at the hands of the colonists.

Shortly after, during this same month, General Herkimer, of the American militia, took a strong force with him, and started for Brant's head-quarters, whether with intention of attacking him, or merely to treat upon terms of equality, hardly appears.

Brant was very cautious of trusting himself in the enemies' hands. He did not show himself for a week after Herkimer's arrival, and when he finally appeared, and consented to a conference, he was accompanied and defended by five hundred Indian warriors. Every precaution was taken against treachery; the meeting was held at a temporary building erected mid-way between the two encampments, and the respective parties were to assemble

at the spot unarmed. The Indian chief took with him a guard of about forty warriors, and was accompanied by one Captain Bull, of the English party, and by his nephew, William Johnson, a son of Molly Brant by Sir William.

General Herkimer had long been on terms of friendship with Brant, before the troubles arose between England and the American colonies, and he vainly hoped to be able to influence and persuade him into complaisance towards the new government. Thayendanegea was suspicious, and looked with an evil eye upon the hostile array of troops, shrewdly questioning the necessity for such preparations for a mere meeting of conference. He fully confirmed the supposition that he was determined to support the king, and evinced a proud dependence upon the power and courage of his own tribe.

The parley terminated most unsatisfactorily, and another appointment was made. We are sorry to record an instance of such unpardonable treachery as Herkimer is said to have planned at this juncture. One of his men, Joseph Waggoner, affirmed that the general privately exhorted him to arrange matters so that Brant and his three principal associates might be assassinated when they should present themselves at the place of meeting. The Indian chief, when he came to the council, kept a large body of his warriors within call, so that the design, even if it had been seriously entertained by Waggoner, could not be safely carried out.

Brant counselled the general to go quietly home, as he could not but perceive how much he was out-numbered if his intent was hostile. He disavowed any present inimical design. Herkimer accordingly took his departure, and Brant, not long after, marched his warriors to the British place of rendezvous, at Oswego. Here a great council was held with the Indian tribes by English emissaries, who enlarged upon the ingratitude and rebellious

spirit of the provinces, and compared the power and wealth of their own monarch with the poverty of the Americans.

Abundance of finery and warlike implements were spread before the greedy eyes of the warriors, and they were told that "the king was rich and powerful, both in money and subjects. His rum was as plenty as the water in Lake Ontario, and his men as numerous as the sands upon its shore; and the Indians were assured that, if they would assist in the war, and persevere in their friendship for the king until its close, they should never want for goods or money."

The bargain was struck accordingly, and each warrior who pledged himself to the royal cause received, as earnest of future favors, a suit of clothes, a brass kettle, a tomahawk, a scalping-knife, and a supply of ammunition, besides a small present in money. The sagacity and enterprise of the chief, whose power was now almost universally submitted to by those of the Six Nations that favored the cause of the king, rendered the alliance a formidable one.

The gloomy prospects of the colonies, disheartened as they were by reverses and pecuniary distress, grew tenfold darker at the apprehension of such a bloody and cruel border warfare as they might now anticipate. Exaggerated tales were every where circulated of the extent of Indian depredations and cruelties. There was, indeed, sufficient foundation in truth for the greatest apprehension and distress. It is due to many of the British commanding officers to say that they bitterly regretted the association of their party with a horde of murderous savages, over whose acts they could exercise no control, when out of their immediate influence. Burgoyne refused to pay the expected bounty for scalps, to the intense disgust of his Indian forces; and, to the remonstrance on the part of the American general, against the permission of the bloody

scenes which were continually enacting, he returned an eloquent disclaimer of participation in or encouragement of such acts.

A large population of those who resided in the districts more immediately exposed, were driven from their dwellings by the fear of Indian cruelties. During Burgoyne's advance, an incident occurred which excited the strongest emotions of horror and indignation throughout the country. We allude to the well-known tale of the murder of Miss Jane McCrea. Few incidents have attracted more notice in the whole course of Indian warfare than this, and few have been reported in so variant and distorted a style. Miss McCrea was the daughter of a gentleman of New Jersey, and was residing, at the period of our present narrative, with her brother John, near Fort Edward, upon the Hudson, within a few miles of Saratoga. Her family was of the royal party, and she was herself engaged to marry a young officer by the name of Jones, then on duty in Burgoyne's army.

The promised husband commissioned a few Indians to go to the young lady's dwelling, and escort her thence to the British camp. Against the urgent entreaties of her friends, she put herself under the protection of these uncertain messengers, and started for the encampment. Her lover, anxious that his errand should be faithfully performed, dispatched a second party to join the convoy. The two companies met a short distance from Fort Edward, and were proceeding together when they were attacked by a party of Americans. "At the close of the skirmish," says Stone, "the body of Miss McCrea was found among the slain—tomahawked, scalped, and tied to a pine-tree, yet standing by the side of the spring, as a monument of the bloody transaction. The name of the young lady is inscribed on the tree, the trunk of which is thickly scarred with the bullets it received in the skirmish. It also bears

the date 1777." He cites further, from Silliman: "Tradition reports that the Indians divided the scalp, and that each party carried half of it to the agonized lover."

The account usually received of the manner in which her death was brought about is, that the chiefs of the two Indian companies, quarrelling as to which should receive the reward (a barrel of rum) promised by Jones, one of them, to end the dispute, buried his tomahawk in the head of their charge.

During this month, (July,) General Barry St. Leger marched from Oswego, with nearly two thousand whites and Indians—the latter led by Thayendanegea—to the investiture of Fort Stanwix. This stronghold of the provincial party occupied the spot where Rome now stands, in Oneida county, near the head-waters of the Mohawk. The post was afterwards called Fort Schuyler. The forces of St. Leger beset the fort on the 3d of August.

The most interesting event connected with the part taken by the Indians in this siege, is the bloody battle of Oriskany. The brave old soldier, General Herkimer, with from eight hundred to a thousand militia and volunteers, hastened to relieve the garrison as soon as the news of St. Leger's design was brought. Unfortunately, the English commander obtained information of the approach of reinforcements in sufficient season to prepare an ambuscade at a spot the most disadvantageous possible for the advancing troops. Where a marshy ravine, over which the path of the American army was carried by a causeway, partially inclosed a dry and level tract, Brant and his warriors, with a body of English troops, lay concealed. Before Herkimer and his men were aware of danger, the main portion of their number was completely surrounded, and cut off from the baggage and rear-guard.

Broken and disordered by the murderous and unexpected fire of the enemy, the Americans met with terrible

loss. Retreat was out of the question, and gradually, encouraged by the exhortations of their brave commander, who, although severely wounded, sat supported by a tree, coolly issuing his orders, they formed defensive circles. Such scenes of desperate hand to hand fighting as ensued have seldom been recorded. The destruction on both sides was great, more than two hundred of the Americans being killed on the spot. Both parties laid claim to a victory; but it appears sufficiently certain that the Indians were dispersed, while the provincial militia held their ground. The purpose of the advance was, indeed, defeated, except so far as it gave opportunity for a successful sally from the fort, in which the British were driven from their encampment, and a great quantity of valuable booty was obtained.

One who passed the spot where the battle of Oriskany was fought, a few days afterwards, writes: "I beheld the most shocking sight I had ever witnessed. The Indians and white men were mingled with one another, just as they had been left when death had first completed his work. Many bodies had also been torn to pieces by wild beasts." The veteran commander of the provincials died in consequence of the wound he had received. The loss experienced by the Mohawks and others of the Six Nations who took part in the engagement, was long remembered and lamented by their tribes.

Notwithstanding the reverses that followed; the discomfiture of the English; the growing power and confidence of the Americans; and the long and eloquent appeal of mingled warning and conciliation communicated to them by Congress, all of the Six Nations except the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras remained, at the close of the year, fast friends of the king. The poverty of the colonies prohibited that display of rewards which the loyalists could proffer, and constant intimacy enabled the politic officers

of the crown to sway the ignorant minds of the Indians, and to teach them to look upon their white countrymen as an unprincipled people, engaged in a hopeless as well as causeless rebellion.

CHAPTER V.

CONTINUATION OF REVOLUTIONARY INCIDENTS.

THE year 1778 opened unfavorably for American influence over the border savages. Johnson and Butler, aided by Joseph Brant, in behalf of the crown, had been unwearied in their efforts to win over the Indians of the west to their master's cause. In vain was a council called by the provincial congress for the purpose of making one more effort to induce the Six Nations to adopt a neutral policy. An incomplete deputation, from all the tribes except the Senecas, did indeed assemble at Johnstown, in Tryon county, during the month of March, the result of which meeting only strengthened the conviction that nothing but enmity was to be looked for on the part of the great body of the nation. There was too great reason to fear that the Indians of the far west were successfully dealt with by emissaries on the part of the loyalists.

Brant returned to his old quarters at Oghkwaga, and its vicinity, and lent himself heart and soul to the work of harassing and plundering the colonists. Although, as the chief of his nation, no small portion of the enormities committed by the Indian predatory bands, was attributed to his direct influence, it is due to Brant to say, that few among his companions-in-arms showed an equal regard for the laws of humanity. Many an instance is recorded of his interference, even in the heat of conflict, to stay the hand uplifted against the feeble and helpless. He was, it

is true, a fierce partisan warrior, and, in one of his letters, avowed his intent to "fight the cruel rebels," as well as he could; but he seldom, if ever, evinced that savage cruelty towards a conquered foe which disgraced his Indian and white associates.

While the war lasted, there was no rest or safety for the inhabitants of that extensive district bordering on the enemies' country—from Saratoga, south-westward to the Susquehanna. Brant commenced operations in person, by an attack on Springfield, a small place at the head of Otsego lake. He drove off or took prisoners all the men, and assembling the women and children for safety, burned all the town except the house where they were collected. He then retired, offering them no injury.

In the latter part of June, a descent was planned upon the settlements in the valley of Wyoming, upon the Susquehanna, in the north-eastern part of Pennsylvania. Some three hundred British regulars and tory volunteers, accompanied by about five hundred of their Indian allies, marched from Niagara. They were led by Colonel John Butler. It has been a commonly received opinion that Brant was the chief under whom the Indian portion of the army was mustered, but it is now believed that he had as little share in this campaign as in many other scenes of blood long coupled with his name. There is no proof that he was present at any of the scenes that we are about to relate.

No portion of the whole history of the revolution has been so distorted in the narration as that connected with the laying waste of the valley of Wyoming. No two accounts seem to agree, and historians have striven to out-do each other in the violence of their expressions of indignation, at cruelties and horrors which existed only in their own imaginations, or which came to them embellished with all the exaggeration incident to reports arising amid scenes of excitement and bloodshed.

Wyoming had, for many years, been the scene of the bitterest hostility between the settlers under the Connecticut grant and those from Pennsylvania. Although these warlike operations were upon a small scale, they were conducted with great vindictiveness and treachery. Blood was frequently shed; and, as either party obtained the ascendancy, small favor was shown to their opponents, who were generally driven from their homes in hopeless destitution. We cannot go into a history of these early transactions, and only mention them as explanatory of the feelings of savage animosity which were exhibited between neighbors, and even members of the same families, who had espoused opposite interests in the revolutionary contest.

As John Butler and his forces entered the north-western portion of the valley, having descended the Susquehanna upon rafts, the inhabitants of the several towns made the best preparations in their power to resist the invasion. Colonel Zebulon Butler was in command of a company of regular continental troops, and with about three hundred of the militia, collected in the valley, he marched on the 3d of July, to check and, if possible, disperse the invaders. It was intended to take the enemy by surprise at their encampment, (at Fort Wintermoot,) but the vigilance of the Indian sentinels betrayed the advancing forces. They found the royalists drawn up, and ready to give them battle. Their line was extended from the river, on their left, to a marsh, beyond which rose the mountain range which bounded the valley. The Indian warriors were stationed at the right by the borders of the swamp.

The whole line was simultaneously attacked by the provincials, as they came up. Colonel Dennison, who commanded the left wing of the American army, perceiving that a strong body of the Indians had forced their way through the marsh, and were about to attack him in the

rear, gave an order to fall back, that his troops might not be surrounded. This command was mistaken for an order to retreat, and the result was a complete rout and a disorderly flight. The Indians, now completely in their element, fell upon the helpless stragglers with tomahawk and knife. About fifty of the Americans are said to have escaped by swimming the river, or by clambering the mountains, and concealing themselves in the forest: the rest all perished upon the field.

Most of the inhabitants of the valley sought safety from the victorious army in flight. Those who remained betook themselves to Fort Wyoming. On the next day, July 4th, the British colonel approached the fort, and demanded an unconditional surrender. A capitulation was finally agreed upon, by the terms of which the occupiers of lands in the valley were to be protected in the peaceable enjoyment of their property. Colonel Zebulon Butler and the remnant of his regulars had made their escape, and it was agreed, by the officer remaining in command, that the fort should be demolished. The result, however, was the almost entire destruction of the settlement. The rapacity of the undisciplined Indian forces, tempted by the opportunity for plunder, could not be restrained; and the long-cherished rancour of partisan enmity between fellow-countrymen had full opportunity to satiate itself.

The rich and highly-cultivated farms were laid waste, and their unfortunate proprietors, flying from their burning homes, were reduced to the greatest extremities. Many are said to have perished in the wilderness, whither they had fled for safety. From the tales of the wretched outcasts who were dispersed over the country, as published at the time, many incidents have been copied into modern histories, which we know to be false or grossly exaggerated. War is every way an enormous evil, and when carried on by an ignorant and barbarous people, to whom

the refinements of so-called civilized warfare are unknown, must necessarily involve scenes of terror and desolation; but at the time of which we are now speaking, the greatest atrocities appear to have been committed by whites. We will give a single incident as illustrative of the spirit of the times. Several of the loyalists had pursued some fugitives of the provincial militia to an island in the river. One of these being ferreted out from his place of concealment, recognized his own brother among the enemy, and, falling upon his knees, begged humbly for his life. The greeting and response of the unnatural brother are thus recorded: "So it is you, is it?"—"All this is mighty fine, but you are a damned rebel."—Saying which, he deliberately levelled his rifle, and shot him dead upon the spot."

At the north, Brant and his Indians continued to be a source of terror and annoyance. Besides many minor depredations, they burned and plundered the rich and thriving settlement of the German Flatts, upon the upper waters of the Mohawk. The inhabitants had sufficient notice of the attack to be able to secure themselves in the neighboring forts, but they could do nothing to preserve their homes, or to save the fruits of a summer's toil from plunder or destruction. This injury was retaliated by the invasion of the noted establishments of the Indian chief at Oghkwaga and Unadilla. A party of friendly Oneidas lent themselves to this service, and succeeded in bringing off some booty and prisoners. A more important inroad was made by Colonel William Butler, with a Pennsylvania regiment. He entered the towns of Unadilla and Oghkwaga, and, finding them deserted by the Indians, burned and destroyed the buildings, together with large stores of provision intended for winter use.

The Indians were greatly exasperated at this heavy loss, and it was not difficult for the English to excite them to prompt exertions for revenge. The Senecas were discov-

ered to be in arms, and assuming a hostile attitude very shortly after these events; and one of their chiefs, "The Great Tree," who had been spending the summer with the Americans, and had associated during that time upon friendly terms with General Washington, had now returned to his people with altered demeanor and purposes. Reports had been circulated among the Indians of this and other tribes that the Americans were planning an invasion of their country.

Early in November, (1778,) the younger Butler, Walter, led a force of seven hundred men from Niagara to attack the settlement at Cherry-Valley. The majority of the party consisted of Indians under the command of Thayendanegea. The place of their destination, a beautiful and prosperous village, not far from Otsego lake, was defended by a fortification garrisoned by troops under Colonel Ichabod Alden. The commander received intimation, from an Oneida messenger, of the dangerous position of the place, but, being incredulous, or supposing that there was abundance of time for preparation, he was in no condition for resistance when the blow fell. The inhabitants, instead of seeking the protection of the fort, were scattered among their several habitations.

The Indian savages made the first onslaught, and, throwing aside all restraint, massacred men, women and children indiscriminately. Many of the tories belonging to the party are said to have shown a spirit of ferocity equal to that of the worst of barbarians. The officer in command, Walter N. Butler, repeatedly asserted, in after communications, that he used his best endeavors to stay the destruction of the helpless children and females, and there is no doubt but that Brant's inclinations turned in the same direction. Specific instances are reported in which the Mohawk chief interfered, and successfully, to arrest the murderous tomahawk. According to their account, the

Indians were exasperated at their losses at Oghkwaga and Unadilla, and, becoming heated with the excitement of the attack, were in complete disorder, and in no degree amenable to discipline. Wherever the blame lay, the result was terrible: about fifty soldiers and inhabitants fell by the tomahawk, among the latter of whom the larger portion consisted of women and children. The whole village was burned to the ground, and the rich stores of provisions were destroyed. Thirty or forty prisoners were taken, but of these, the women and children, with a few exceptions, were shortly after set at liberty, as unable to endure the march.

Mrs. Campbell, one of those who was retained as a hostage, because of the prominent part taken by her husband in the American cause, has given very interesting descriptions of Indian ceremonies and manner of life.

The Onondagas, throughout these campaigns, while, as a tribe, they did not openly profess themselves inimical to the Americans, were individually concerned in no small number of the forays and scalping expeditions whereby the border country was harassed. In April, of 1779, it was determined to destroy their settlements, and Colonel Van Schaick, with a sufficient force, was despatched for the purpose. He was ordered utterly to lay waste the whole of their towns; to destroy all their cattle and property; and to take as many prisoners as possible. He did not succeed in surprising the Indians, as he had purposed: their scouts carried intelligence of his advance in season for most of them to escape to the woods; but their improvements and dwellings were left undefended, at the mercy of the assailants. The colonel obeyed his orders to the letter, and left nothing but blackened ruins behind him in his progress through the Indian villages. The dwellings, the horses, cattle, and stored provisions of the unfortunate tribe were all destroyed, and the Americans

returned to their quarters, without the loss of a man, taking with them thirty-three prisoners. About twelve of the Onondagas were killed during the expedition.

The friendly Oneidas were closely connected with this tribe, and they felt and expressed a natural sympathy with their misfortunes. The Onondagas were greatly exasperated, and their war-parties continued to hover around the border settlements, ever ready to take advantage of any unwariness on the part of the whites.

In the months of July and August, of this year, (1779,) Brant signalized himself by various successful expeditions. He plundered and destroyed the little town of Minisink, near the Delaware river, in Orange county, New York, and defeated a body of the militia who undertook to follow his trail, in hopes of recovering the booty he had secured, and of avenging the ruin he had caused. Some interesting incidents are recorded as connected with this battle. So skillfully did the Mohawk chief anticipate and oppose the movements of his pursuers, that he secured an advantage in position which gave him a signal victory. A large proportion of the whites were slain. We are told that, after the battle, Brant saw a wounded officer lying upon the field, in a hopeless condition, but retaining sufficient strength to converse. Unwilling to leave the unfortunate man to be torn in pieces by wolves, who would be sure to collect as night came on, he determined, from motives of humanity, to dispatch him. He therefore commenced a conversation with him, and, watching his opportunity, put an end to his sufferings unawares, by a blow of the tomahawk.

On this, as on most other occasions in which the Mohawk chief was engaged in active hostilities, the most contradictory reports have been recorded concerning his conduct and demeanor. The leader is generally compelled to bear the blame of all the excesses committed by his

followers, and it is no easy task, at this distance of time, to decide upon the truth of many tales reported under circumstances of confusion and excitement.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE IROQUOIS—SUBSEQUENT WARLIKE OPERATIONS OF THE NATION.

WHILE the events which we have just described were transpiring, preparations were going on for a more formidable invasion of the Indian territory than had before been attempted by the Americans. The annoyance of an uncertain border warfare had become so intolerable that it was deemed necessary to put a stop to it by the entire destruction of the Iroquois towns and settlements. In pursuance of a resolution of Congress, the commander-in-chief, General Washington, made arrangements, in the spring of 1779, to send a large force into the heart of the enemies' country, with directions to burn and destroy all their towns; to lay waste their fields and orchards, to take as many prisoners as practicable; and, in a word, to do the enemy all the injury possible. The command of the expedition was bestowed upon General Sullivan, who was directed to ascend the Susquehanna, with troops from Pennsylvania, and to form a junction with the northern forces at Tioga, near the mouth of the Chemung. The detachment from the north, under General Clinton, consisting of fifteen hundred men, marched from Canajoharie, on the Mohawk, for Otsego Lake, (from which flows the Susquehanna) about the middle of June. They carried with them, over-land, two hundred batteaux, in which to descend the river to Tioga.

It was intended that Clinton should take with him a body of Oneida warriors, but this purpose was frustrated by the efforts of General Haldimand, on behalf of the king of Great Britain. This officer sent a letter, written in their own tongue, to the Oneidas, upbraiding them with the breach of ancient treaties, and threatening, if they presumed to engage in open warfare against the royalists, to let loose upon them such a horde of his Indian allies as should utterly destroy them. The effect of this epistle was to keep the Oneida warriors, with very few exceptions, at home, that they might be in readiness to guard their families and homesteads from the threatened invasion.

Owing to delays at the south, Clinton did not receive orders to remove from Otsego until August. He had, in the mean time, dammed the outlet of the lake, so that a great body of water had accumulated. When his troops were embarked, the obstruction was removed, and, aided by the unusual flow, the flotilla swept rapidly and smoothly down the stream. On the 22d of August the meeting at Tioga was effected. Five thousand men, well armed and provisioned, were now concentrated, and ready to pour upon the devoted towns of the hostile Iroquois.

The attempt to keep the expedition a secret from the enemy would have been utterly useless, from the length of time required for the preparatory movements. The campaign was anticipated, but no adequate force was provided to resist the American army. The only battle which took place was at Newtown on the bank of the Chemung, near the present town of Elmira. Here a force, variously estimated at from eight to fifteen hundred, and consisting of Indians under Thayendanegea, and whites commanded by the two Butlers, and by Sir John and Guy Johnson, was advantageously intrenched.

A brave and obstinate resistance was made to the advance of the Americans, but superior numbers prevailed,

and the enemy was driven across the river, after suffering considerable loss. This was the only attempt of any importance that was made to defend the country from ravage and destruction. Pursuing his course westward, General Sullivan obeyed his orders to the letter. Every where the well-built towns and flourishing corn-fields of the confederate nations were reduced to utter ruin. These Indian tribes had made no little advance in the arts of civilization. The Mohawks had mostly fled to Canada in the early times of the revolution, but others of the Iroquois, particularly the Cayugas and Senecas, had continued to cultivate their fields and maintain possession of the homes of their forefathers. Immense orchards of apple and other fruit-trees were growing luxuriantly around their habitations, but all fell beneath the axe of the destroyers. The movement of so large a body of troops was necessarily slow, and as no precautions were taken to conceal their operations, the Indians were every where enabled to escape to the woods. It must have been with feelings of the bitterest rage and despair that they saw the labor of so many years rendered useless, and thought of the coming winter, which must overtake them, a wandering and destitute people, who must perish, or rely for aid upon their Canadian allies.

The whole month of September was spent in the work of destruction. The course of the march, after the battle of Newtown, was first to Catharine's Town, near the head of Seneca lake; thence to Kanadaseagea, the principal town of the Senecas; to Canandagua; and to Genesee, which was the farthest point reached at the westward. From Sullivan's account: "The town of Genesee contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses, mostly large and very elegant. It was beautifully situated, almost encircled with a clear flatt extending a number of miles; over which, extensive fields of corn were waving, together with every kind of vegetable that could be conceived."

"The entire army," says Stone, "was immediately engaged in destroying it, and the axe and the torch soon transformed the whole of that beautiful region from the character of a garden to a scene of drear and sickening desolation. Forty Indian towns were destroyed. Corn, gathered and ungathered, to the amount of one hundred and sixty thousand bushels, shared the same fate; their fruit-trees were cut down; and the Indians were hunted like wild beasts. Till neither house, nor fruit-tree, nor field of corn, nor inhabitant, remained in the whole country."

In a suffering and destitute condition, the scattered tribes of the Iroquois were driven to seek protection and support during the hard winter that succeeded their overthrow from the English at their posts in the vicinity of Niagara. Nothing could now be expected at their hands, by the Americans, but acts of vindictive retaliation. Brant led his warriors, in pursuance of Haldimand's ominous prediction, against the settlements of the Oneidas, and reduced them to a condition as desolate as that of the habitations of his allies. The whole tribe was compelled to fly to the eastward, and seek shelter and support from the provincials.

Thayendanegea was ever ready and watchful for opportunity to harass and weaken the American posts, or to plunder their unprotected villages. Passing over his minor exploits and adventures, of which many strikingly characteristic anecdotes are preserved, we come to his irruption into the Mohawk valley, in August of 1780. He managed, at this time, to circulate a report among the settlers in the valley, that he was meditating an attack upon Forts Plain and Schuyler, for the purpose of getting possession of the stores collected at those posts. The militia of the valley hastened to defend the threatened points, leaving their villages a prey to the cunning Mohawk. He carefully avoided the reinforcements on their way to the forts, and fell upon Canajoharie.

His course was marked by the entire destruction of houses, provisions, and crops; of every thing indeed that could not be profitably carried away. No barbarities were permitted upon the persons of the defenceless women and children, but a large number of them were borne away into captivity. Brant effected his retreat unmolested; his men laden with plunder, and driving before them the valuable herds of the white settlers. Accounts, published shortly after the transaction, represent that the whole number of houses and barns burnt in this invasion, at Canajoharie, Schoharie, and Norman's Kill, was one hundred and forty; and that twenty-four persons were killed, and seventy-three made captives. The mind is little impressed by such bare enumeration, unless the imagination be excited to fill up the outline. No language could express the amount of misery and terrible anxiety which such an inroad must have caused. To the distracting uncertainty respecting the fate of their wives and children, prisoners in the hands of a barbarous and exasperated enemy, was added the mortification of a consciousness, on the part of the provincial militia, that they had been duped. They had left their defenceless homes to be ravaged by the enemy, while they were busying themselves in the defence of a fortified post, against which no attack had been meditated.

The invasion of the Mohawk valley by Sir John Johnson, in October of this year (1780), was productive of results still more extensively disastrous. The Indians connected with the expedition were led by Brant, and by the great Seneca warrior, Corn-Planter. This chief was a half-breed, being a son of a white trader, named O'Bail, and a Seneca squaw. During this campaign, he took old O'Bail prisoner. Making himself known to his father, Corn-Planter enlarged upon his own position and consequence, offering the old man his choice, whether he would

live in ease and plenty among his son's followers, or return to the settlements of the whites. O'Bail preferred the latter course, and was escorted accordingly to a place of safety. We shall speak further of this noted warrior, in describing his successful rival, the great orator Red-Jacket.

The usual horrors attendant upon Indian warfare marked this campaign of Johnson's; but we are not without evidence that the principal leader of the savages was inclined to no cruelty farther than that necessarily incident to the Indian mode of conducting hostilities. On one occasion, he sent one of his runners to return a young infant that had been carried off with other captives and plunder. The messenger delivered a letter from Brant, directed "to the commanding officer of the rebel army," in which the Mohawk chief avers that "whatever others might do," he made no war upon women and children. He mentioned the two Butlers, and other tory partisans, as being "more savage than the savages themselves."

The Indians of the Six Nations, engaged in the royal cause, made Niagara their winter head-quarters. Thence their scouts and war-parties continued to molest the border country through the ensuing spring and summer, but no very important engagement took place until October (1781). On the 24th of that month, the inhabitants of the country south of the Mohawk, near the mouth of Schoharie creek, were astonished by the unexpected inroad of an overwhelming force of the enemy. The army, under the command of Major Ross, amounted to nearly a thousand men, including Indians. They had made their way from Buck's Island, in the St. Lawrence, to Oswego, and thence, by Oneida lake, to the Mohawk valley, so suddenly and secretly, that no news of their approach had preceded them.

The invaders commenced the usual course of ravage and destruction, but their success was but of short dura-

tion. They were disastrously routed and put to flight by the provincials, under Colonel Willet, aided by a body of Oneida warriors. The notorious Walter N. Butler perished during the last engagement with the Americans. He was shot and scalped by an Oneida Indian.

This was the last important procedure connected with the war of the revolution, in which the Iroquois bore a part. They proved, throughout the contest, most dangerous and efficient allies, rendering an immense extent of the richest and most beautiful portion of the state of New York unsafe for the Americans.

CHAPTER VII.

CONDITION OF THE SIX NATIONS SUBSEQUENT TO THE REVOLUTION—CONCLUSION OF BRANT'S HISTORY—RED-JACKET AND CORN-PLANTER.

After the conclusion of peace and the recognition of the independence of the United States, arrangements were made between the British government and those of the Six Nations who still wished to reside under the jurisdiction of the parent country, to secure them an asylum in Canada. Thayendanegea was the principal negotiator on the part of the Indians, and, at his instance, the country bordering on Grand River, which empties into Lake Erie, about thirty miles westward from Buffalo, was granted by the crown to "the Mohawks, and others of the Six Nations, who had either lost their possessions in the war, or wished to retire from them to the British." They were to be secured in the possession of a tract extending six miles in breadth, on each side of the river, from its mouth to its source.

The course to be taken by the United States respecting

the Iroquois resident within their limits, was a subject which led to much discussion and dissension. A conference was finally held at Fort Stanwix, between deputies from all the six tribes and United States commissioners; and, after much violent debate, in which the celebrated Red-Jacket took a prominent part, it was settled that the Indians should cede to the government all jurisdiction over lands in eastern New York, and confine themselves to a district specified at the west. All prisoners were to be delivered up, and several hostages were given to secure performance of their stipulations on the part of the Six Nations.

Many of the Indians were greatly dissatisfied with this treaty. Red-Jacket (in opposition to Corn-Planter) strenuously advocated a continuance of hostilities. His speech at Fort Stanwix upon the subject gained him a wide reputation for oratory. Brant, who was then about starting for England to push the claims of his tribe for remuneration for their losses in the war, postponed his embarkation, and wrote a letter of remonstrance to Colonel Monroe, complaining especially of the retention of one of his relatives, a Captain Aaron Hill, as one of the hostages.

The Mohawk chief did not lay aside his purpose of visiting the royal court in his people's behalf. He arrived in England in the month of December, 1785, and never was ambassador received with more flattering attention. His intelligence and dignity, together with the remembrance of his long and faithful services, commended him to all. He was féted by the nobility and gentry; his acquaintance was sought by the most learned and celebrated dignitaries of the age; and the native shrewdness evinced in his speeches and remarks drew forth universal applause. His attempt to awaken an interest at court, in favor of the claims of his nation, was successful; and a royal order was obtained for the indemnity of those whose losses had been specified, and for an examination of further demands.

In the United States, Indian affairs continued unsettled, and ominous prospects of future disturbance on the western frontier called for wise and cautious action. A great council was held in December, 1786, by many tribes of Indians, among whom the Six Nations were the most prominent, at Huron village, not far from the mouth of Detroit river. The object was to concert some general plan of resistance to encroachments upon their lands by the inhabitants of the United States. It is said that an unfriendly feeling towards the new government was promoted by English officials in their communications with the Indians, in reference to the retention, by the crown, of Oswego, Detroit, Niagara, and other posts.

For many years, subsequent to the peace with England, bloody skirmishes, and scenes of plunder and rapine, kept the western border in continual distress; and when the United States undertook the reduction of the hostile tribes in 1790 and 91, it was found that the feeling of disaffection on the part of the red men was indeed extensive. Upon the occasion of St. Clair's disastrous defeat by the Miamis and their associates, under the renowned chief, Little Turtle, it is asserted by the biograpner of Brant that the old Mohawk warrior and the warlike tribe to which he belonged bore a conspicuous part.

No man, born of a savage stock, has ever associated with the enlightened and intelligent upon terms of greater equality than did Thayendanegea. While he retained all his partiality for his own people, and never lost sight of their interests, he fully appreciated the advantages of education and civilization. A long life, spent for the most part amid scenes of strife and danger, in which the whole powers of his active mind and body seemed called forth by the stirring scenes in which he mingled, did not unfit him for the pursuits of literature and the arts of peace. He was indefatigable in his endeavors to elevate the social

position of his tribe, and devoted no little time and attention to the translation of scriptural and other works into the Mohawk tongue, for their benefit. His earlier specimens of composition, which have been preserved, are, as might be expected, rudely and imperfectly expressed, but they evince great shrewdness and intelligence. The productions of his latter years are strikingly forcible and elegant.

We cannot go into a detail of the tedious and somewhat obscure negotiations with the American government in which the chief of the Six Nations took part in behalf of his people, nor chronicle the events of private interest and domestic troubles which disturbed his declining years. The old warrior died in November, 1807, at the age of sixty-four.

In the war of 1812, the Mohawks, under John Brant, son and successor of Thayendanegea, took the part of their old friends and allies, the English, and did good service in various engagements upon the northern frontier.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, few names stand more prominent in Indian annals than that of the Seneca chief and orator, Saguoaha, or Red-Jacket. We hear of him, indeed, in much earlier times, as opposed to Brant, at the time of Sullivan's campaign. The Mohawk chief always regarded him with contempt and dislike, speaking of him as an arrant coward, and a man of words merely. Saguoaha held the whites generally in suspicion, and his great effort appears ever to have been for the preservation of his nation's independence and individuality.

We have already mentioned the part which he took at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and his opposition to the cession by his nation of their eastern lands. Corn-Planter, or O'Bail, who favored the proposal, was high in authority at that time among the Senecas; but Red-Jacket, more by his eloquence and sagacity in council than by any warlike

achievements, was gradually supplanting him. Corn-Planter was a veteran warrior, and had fought in former times against the English, in behalf of the French. He is said to have been attached to the French and Indian army, upon the occasion of Braddock's defeat, in 1755. He could ill brook the rivalry of a young man, noted for no warlike achievements, and only prominent among his people by virtue of his natural gift of eloquence. To check, therefore, this advance of the young orator, O'Bail endeavored to work upon the credulity of his people by announcing his brother as a prophet, and, for a time, succeeded in exciting their reverence and superstitious fears. Red-Jacket, however, in open council, eloquently proclaimed him an impostor, and harangued the tribe with such power and effect as to create a complete diversion in his own favor. He was chosen chief of his tribe, and exercised, from that time forth, a control over his numerous followers seldom surpassed by any Indian ruler. He was a steady opposer of Christianity, holding the missionaries who endeavored to effect the conversion of the Six Nations, in great suspicion. As a specimen of his style of oratory, we will give some extracts of Saguoaha's speeches upon these religious questions, as they are to be found in Thatcher's Indian Biography. It must be observed that, with characteristic obstinacy, the speaker would never use the English language, but communicated his remarks by means of an interpreter, so that due allowance must be made for the change in style and loss of force almost always attendant upon a translation.

At a Seneca council in May, 1811, held at Buffalo Creek, he answered a missionary from New York, substantially as follows: "Brother!—we listened to the talk you delivered us from the Council of Black-Coats in New York. We have fully considered your talk, and the offers you have made us. We now return our answer, which

we wish *you* also to understand. In making up our minds, we have looked back to remember what has been done in our days, and what our fathers have told us was done in old times.

"Brother!—Great numbers of Black-Coats have been among the Indians. With sweet voices and smiling faces, they offered to teach them the religion of the white people. Our brethren in the East listened to them. They turned from the religion of their fathers, and took up the religion of the white people. What good has it done? Are they more friendly one to another than we are? No, brother! They are a divided people;—we are united. They quarrel about religion;—we live in love and friendship. Besides, they drink strong waters. And they have learned how to cheat, and how to practice all the other vices of the white people, without imitating their virtues. Brother!—If you wish us well, keep away; do not disturb us.

"Brother!—We do not worship the Great Spirit as the white people do, but we believe that the forms of worship are indifferent to the Great Spirit. It is the homage of sincere hearts that pleases him, and we worship him in that manner."

After arguing the matter a little more at length, and expressing a decided preference for the "talk" of Mr. Granger, an Indian agent, and for that of the emissaries of the Society of Friends, the orator concluded:

"Brother!—For these reasons we cannot receive your offers. We have other things to do, and beg you to make your mind easy, without troubling us, lest our heads should be too much loaded, and by and by burst." Red-Jacket remained, through life, consistent with the ground first taken by him upon religious and political questions. To the clergy he was ever courteous and civil, and appears to have been ready to hold argument with them upon their creed. In conversation with one of the cloth, he is

said to have strenuously denied any responsibility on the part of the red men for the death of Christ. "Brother," said he, "if you white people murdered 'the Saviour,' make it up yourselves. We had nothing to do with it. If he had come among us, we should have treated him better."

In the war of 1812, the Senecas espoused the American interests, and, Brant's assertions to the contrary notwithstanding, their chief, with his subordinates—Farmer's Brother, Little Billy, Pollard, Black Snake, Young O'Bail, (a son of Corn-Planter,) and others—gained honorable notice for courage and activity from the commanding officers of the army to which they were attached. It is still more pleasing to reflect that these Indians readily conformed to the more humane usages of modern warfare. General Boyd reported that, "the bravery and humanity of the Indians were equally conspicuous."

In his old age, Red-Jacket became very intemperate, and in so many instances conducted himself in a manner unbecoming the dignity of a chief, that his opponents, the Christian portion of the tribe, succeeded in passing a resolution, in council, for his deposition. This was effected in September, of the year 1827, and a formal written proclamation of the charges said to be substantiated against him, was promulgated. The old chief immediately bestirred himself to obtain a revocation of this decree. He caused a grand council of the Six Nations to be held, and, with all his former fire and energy, made answer to his accusers. After enumerating and ridiculing the charges against him, (many of them really trifling,) he proceeded to speak of his long-continued services and care for his people: "I feel sorry for my nation," said he; "when I am gone to the other worlds,—when the Great Spirit calls me away,—who among my people can take my place? Many years have I guided the nation."

The eloquence of the speaker, and a remembrance of his faithful zeal for the welfare of his tribe, produced their due effect: he was fully restored to his former position and authority. During the latter years of his life, Red-Jacket resided at the Seneca settlement, in the vicinity of Buffalo. He made several visits to the Eastern cities, where his appearance always attracted much interest and attention. A traveller who visited the Seneca country a few years before the death of the old chief (which took place in January, 1830,) speaks of his residence and appearance in the following terms: "My path grew more and more indistinct, until its windings were only intimated by the smoothness of the turf, which often left me in perplexity, till it at last brought me to the view of the abode of the chief. He had penetrated, like a wild beast, into the deepest recesses of the forest, almost beyond the power of a white man to trace him. A wild beast! but I found him in a calm, contemplative mood, and surrounded by a cheerful family. Old and young, collected about the door of the log hut where he was seated, seemed to regard him with affection; and an infant, which one of the females held in her arms, received his caresses with smiles. It was a striking scene—a chief! Yet some of his inferiors, who cultivate the soil in other parts of the Seneca lands, had abundant fields and well-filled store houses, while he was poor, but bore his privations with apparent equanimity. If he had power, he did not exert it; if he had passions, they were quiescent; if he had suffered injuries, they were buried in his breast.—His looks, his motions, his attitudes, had that cast of superiority which convinced me that, whether justly or not, he considered no man his superior in understanding.—He appeared to regard himself as the only one of his nation who retained the feelings and opinions of his ancestors, and to pride himself in preserving them." Halleck's address to "Red-Jacket, on looking at

his portrait, by Wier," although not in all respects strictly accordant with facts, contains a beautiful summary of Indian characteristics. The poem concludes as follows:

"The monarch mind, the mystery of commanding,
The birth-hour gift, the art Napoleon,
Of winning, fettering, moulding, wielding, banding
The hearts of millions, till they move as one;

Thou hast it. At thy bidding men have crowded
The road to death as to a festival;
And minstrels, at their sepulchres, have shrouded
With banner-folds of glory the dark pall.

Who will believe? Not I—for in deceiving
Lies the dear charm of life's delightful dream;
I cannot spare the luxury of believing
That all things beautiful are what they seem.

Who will believe that, with a smile whose blessing
Would, like the patriarch's, sooth a dying hour,
With voice as low, as gentle and caressing,
As e'er won maiden's lip in moonlit bower;

With look like patient Job's, eschewing evil;
With motions graceful as a bird's in air;
Thou art, in sober truth, the veriest devil
That e'er clenched fingers in a captive's hair!

That in thy breast there springs a poison fountain,
Deadlier than that where bathes the Upas-tree;
And in thy wrath, a nursing cat-o'-mountain
Is calm as a babe's sleep, compared with thee!

And underneath that face, like Summer Ocean's,
Its lip as moveless, and its cheek as clear,
Slumbers a whirlwind of the heart's emotions—
Love, hatred, pride, hope, sorrow,—all save fear.

Love—for thy land, as if she were thy daughter,
Her pipe in peace, her tomahawk in wars;
Hatred—of missionaries and cold water:
Pride—in thy rifle-trophies, and thy scars;

Hope—that thy wrongs may be by the Great Spirit
Remembered and revenged when thou art gone;
Sorrow—that none are left thee to inherit
Thy name, thy fame, thy passions, and thy throne!"

CHAPTER VIII.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE SIX NATIONS.

THE information contained in this chapter is drawn from Mr. Schoolcraft's abstracts and statistics, presented in his "Notes on the Iroquois."

In taking the census, ordered by the New York legislature in 1845, and procuring statistics of the agricultural operations of the Iroquois, the author informs us that great objection was made by the Indians to what they considered an officious intermeddling in their affairs. Their suspicions were excited by the novelty of the requisition, and the matter was discussed at great length in their councils. They could not persuade themselves that the government should take such a step from any of the motives urged by those to whom the business was intrusted. It appeared to them most probable that the measure was but a preliminary step to the laying a tax upon their property, and they consequently opposed continual obstacles to a satisfactory completion of the duty assigned. The entire population of the Six Nations, about the middle of the eighteenth century, was computed at six or eight thousand. By other calculations, made a few years later, at the period of the American revolution, it was supposed to exceed nine thousand.

Conscious as we are of the many causes constantly operating to reduce the numbers of the Indian population, it is a matter of no less surprise than satisfaction to learn



RED JACKET

that there has been no very material decrease in the Iroquois nation since the extension of civilization over their ancient country. It is pleasing to reflect that some portion of the strange race that formerly held undisturbed possession of the wilds of America, should be preserved to show what advance they are, as a people, capable of making, when aided by the light of civilization.

The tribes of the ancient confederacy are widely scattered. The larger portion of the Oneidas are settled upon a reservation in the vicinity of Green Bay, Wisconsin: smaller villages of the tribe are situated further southward, near Winnebago Lake. The number of these emigrants was stated in 1844 to be seven hundred and twenty-two. The Senecas who have moved westward, were put down at about two hundred and thirty. Fifty-one of the last-mentioned tribe, were resident at Corn-Planter's settlement in Pennsylvania.

The Mohawks, Cayugas, and others on Grand river, in Canada, probably number over two thousand. We now come to the more certain statistics of the New York census, given as follows, by Mr. Schoolcraft:

"Senecas,	2,441
Onondagas,	398
Tuscaroras,	281
Oneidas,	210
Cayugas,	123
Mohawks,	20
St. Regis Canton,	260."

He estimates the whole nation, in Canada and the United States at nearly seven thousand. He supposes, and it would seem very justly, that there has been a period, within the last century, at which their numbers were reduced much below those presented by recent returns; "and that, for some years past, and since they have been well lodged and clothed, and subsisted by their own labour, and been ex-

empted from the diseases and casualties incident to savage life, and the empire of the forest, their population has recovered, and *is now on the increase.*"

Many satisfactory evidences of thrift and good management, in the shape of saw-mills, school-houses, public buildings, and well-kept farms, appear in the Indian settlements of New York. Nothing seems so conducive to the welfare of this species of our population as a dependence upon their own resources, where the means of advantageous labor are supplied them. The evils of the annuity system, and of the custom of farming out their lands to the whites by the Indians, have been fully and eloquently set forth. The first of these practices has the effect to bring a horde of unprincipled sharpers about the place where the yearly payment is made, who, by the temptations of useless finery, and, far worse, by the offer of the red-man's greatest bane, intoxicating liquors, render the assistance of the government oft-times rather a curse than a blessing. The latter usage is productive of evil by its encouragement of idleness, and by strengthening that sense of pride and self-importance which distinguishes the race. Where the change in the face of the country, and the introduction of domestic animals have rendered the chase no longer necessary or profitable, the Indian still prefers ranging the woods with his dog and gun, to the endurance of what he esteems servile labor.

Striking exceptions to the above remarks are to be seen in the conduct and employments of many inhabitants of Indian villages in New York. Good husbandry is evident in the management of their farms, and artisans of no mean skill are frequently met with. Some of these Indians, who have turned their attention to the art of working in silver, are said to produce very beautiful specimens of ornamental work, especially in the in-laying of gun-stocks, handles to tomahawks, &c.

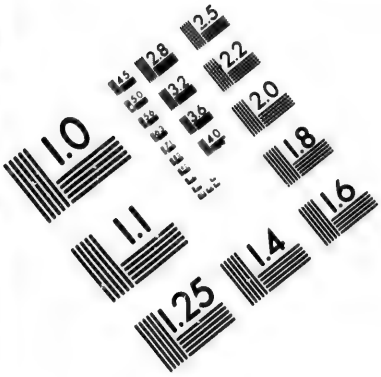
A portion of the Senecas, settled upon the Alleghany, occupy themselves in rafting and boating upon the river, and others are engaged in the lake navigation. There seems, indeed, to be no want of bodily or mental capacity in the North American Indian, for the successful pursuit of nearly every trade, profession, and occupation, followed by the whites.

One most beneficial reformation has taken place among some of the Iroquois, in a movement which, if universally encouraged, would do more to regenerate the red-men, than all other influences combined. We allude to the introduction and formation of temperance societies.

The returns of agricultural products given, at the time of taking the census before-mentioned, in 1845, are extremely gratifying, and may well convince us of the steady and hopeful advance made by the New York Indians in self-reliance and honest industry.

Communications from the missionaries, engaged in the instruction and religious guidance of the Indians dwelling on the different reservations, bear witness to the docility and aptness of their pupils. The Rev. Asher Bliss, in a letter, published in the appendix to Mr. Schoolcraft's notes, observes: "As to the capacity of Indian children for improvement, my own impression is, that there is no essential difference between them and white children." Of the influence of the Christian religion upon the worldly prosperity of the people among whom he was stationed, (the Senecas of the Cataraugus reservation,) Mr. Bliss speaks enthusiastically. He contrasts "the framed houses and barns, the horses, cattle, sheep and hogs, the acres of improved land; the wagons, buggies and sleighs; the clocks, watches, and various productions of agriculture," with the destitution and poverty of former times, and exclaims, naturally enough, "What an astonishing change!"





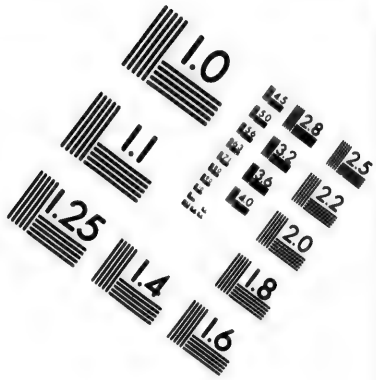
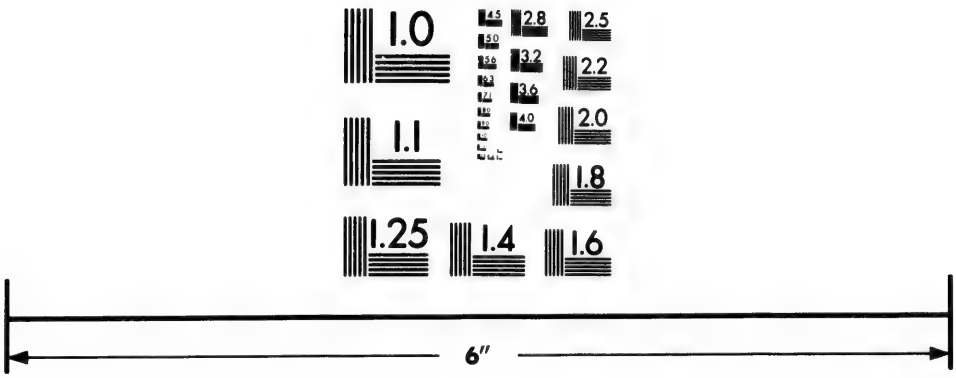
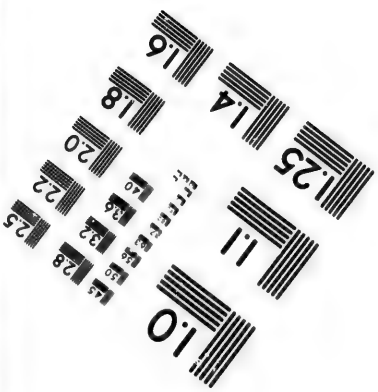
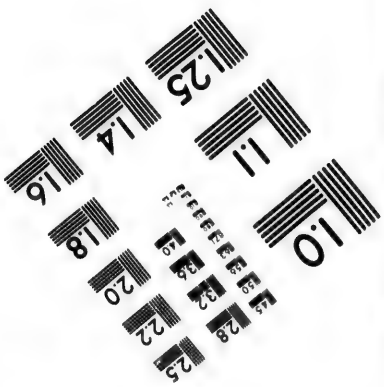


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

PONTIAC'S WAR.

CHAPTER I.

FRENCH INFLUENCE OVER THE INDIANS—BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE WESTERN POSTS—PONTIAC AND HIS PLANS FOR EXTERMINATING THE ENGLISH.

EARLY in the eighteenth century the French had commenced extending their influence among the tribes who inhabited the country bordering on the great western lakes. Always more successful than the other European settlers in conciliating the affections of the savages among whom they lived, they had obtained the hearty good-will of nations little known to the English. The cordial familiarity of the race, and the terms of easy equality upon which they were content to share the rude huts of the Indians, ingratiated them more readily with their hosts, than a course of English reserve and formality could have done. The most marked instances of the contrast between the two great parties of colonists may be seen in the different measure of success met with in their respective religious operations. While the stern doctrines of New England divines, as a general rule, were neglected or contemned by their rude hearers, the Jesuits met with signal success in acquiring a spiritual influence over the aborigines. Whether it was owing to the more attractive form in which they promulgated their creed and worship, or whether it was due to their personal readiness to adapt themselves to the habits, and to sympathize with the feelings

of their proselytes, certain it is that they maintained a strong hold upon the affections, and a powerful influence over the conduct of their adopted brethren.

Adair, writing with natural prejudice, says that, "instead of reforming the Indians, the monks and friars corrupted their morals: for in the place of inculcating love, peace, and good-will to their red pupils, as became messengers of the divine author of peace, they only impressed their flexible minds with an implacable hatred against every British subject, without any distinction. Our people will soon discover the bad policy of the late Quebec act, and it is to be hoped that Great-Britain will, in due time, send those black croaking clerical frogs of Canada home to their infallible Mufti of Rome." The Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatomies, who dwelt on the Great Lakes, proved as staunch adherents to the French interests as were the Six Nations to those of the English, and the bitterest hostility prevailed between these two great divisions of the aboriginal population.

When English troops, in accordance with the treaty of 1760, were put in possession of the French stations on the lakes, they found the Indians little disposed to assent to the change. The great sachem who stood at the head of the confederate western tribes was the celebrated Ottowa chief Pontiac.

The first detachment, under Major Rogers, which entered the western country on the way to Detroit, the most important post on the lakes, was favorably received by the Indian chief, but not without a proud assertion of his own rights and authority. He sent a formal embassy to meet the English, and to announce his intention of giving an audience to their commander. Rogers describes him as a chief of noble appearance and dignified address. At the conference he inquired by what right the English entered his country; and upon the Major's disavowing all hostile

intent towards the Indians, seemed more placable, but checked any further advance, until his pleasure should be made known, with the pithy observation: "I stand in the path you travel until to-morrow morning." He finally allowed the forces to proceed, and even furnished men to protect them and their stores.

Pontiac assisted and protected this garrison for a period, but probably even then was pondering in his mind the great scheme of restoring his French allies and exterminating the intruders. He has been frequently compared to Philip, the great Wampanoag sachem, both for his kingly spirit and for the similarity of their plans to crush the encroachments of the English. Pontiac had an immense force under his control, and could well afford to distribute it in as many different detachments as there were strongholds of the enemy to be overthrown. It was in the year 1763 that his arrangements were completed, and the month of June was fixed upon for a simultaneous onslaught upon every British post. The eloquent and sagacious Ottowa chief had drawn into his conspiracy, not only the people of his own nation, with the Chippewas and Pottawatomies, but large numbers from other western tribes, as the Miamies, the Sacs and Foxes, the Hurons and the Shawanees. He even secured the alliance of a portion of the Delawares and of the Six Nations.

In vain were the officers of the garrisons at Michilimackinac and other distant forts warned by traders, who had ventured among the Indians, that a general disaffection was observable. They felt secure, and no special means were taken to avert the coming storm.

So well concerted were the arrangements for attack, and such consummate duplicity and deception were used in carrying them out, that nearly all the English forts at the west were, within a few days from the first demonstration, in the hands of the savages, the garrisons having



BALL PLAYING.

been massacred or enslaved. No less than nine trading and military posts were destroyed. Of the seizure of Michilimackinac, next to Detroit the most important station on the lakes, we have the most particular account.

Hundreds of Indians, mostly Chippewas and Sacs, had been loitering about the place for some days previous, and on the 4th of June they proceeded to celebrate the king's birthday by a great game at ball. This sport, carried on, as usual, with noise and tumult, threw the garrison off their guard, at the same time that it afforded a pretext for clambering into the fort. The ball was several times, as if by accident, knocked within the pickets, the whole gang rushing in pursuit of it with shouts. At a favorable moment they fell upon the English, dispersed and unsuspicious of intended harm, and before any effectual resistance could be made, murdered and scalped seventy of the number. The remainder, being twenty men, were taken captive. A Mr. Henry, who, by the good offices of a Pawnee woman, was concealed in the house of a Frenchman, gives a minute detail of the terrible scene. From his account, all the fury of the savage seems to have been aroused in the bosoms of the assailants. He avers that he saw them drinking the blood of their mangled victims in a transport of exulting rage.

Over an immense district of country, from the Ohio to the lakes, the outbreak of the combined nations spread desolation and dismay.

CHAPTER II.

SIEGE OF DETROIT—BATTLE OF BLOODY BRIDGE.

PONTIAC himself turned his attention to the reduction of Detroit. He well knew that a rich booty awaited him if he could possess himself of this important place, and laid his plans with caution and care suitable to the magnitude of the enterprise. The town was fortified by pickets and block-houses, and contained a garrison of one hundred and thirty men. The other inhabitants consisted of only a few traders.

Pontiac's intention was to demand a conference with Major Gladwyn, the commandant, taking with him as many of his warriors as could obtain admittance; and at a given signal to fall upon and kill the officers of the garrison. The work of destruction was to be completed by the aid of his followers from without the fort. Those whom he had chosen to share with him the danger of the first onslaught, were each furnished with a rifle, having the barrel so shortened that it could be concealed under the blanket usually worn by an Indian as his outer garment.

The account generally received of the manner in which Major Gladwyn became acquainted with the plot, and of the means resorted to by him to ward off the danger, is as follows: Pontiac, with several hundred warriors, presented himself without the camp, and requested an audience. On the evening of the same day, a squaw came to deliver to the Major a pair of moccasins which he had engaged her to make from an elk-skin. After he had praised her work, paid her handsomely, and dismissed her, with directions to convert the rest of the skin into similar articles, she continued to linger about the premises, apparently in an unsatisfied frame of mind. Her answers to those who questioned her were so singular, particularly a

hint that she dropped respecting the difficulty she should have in "bringing the skin back," that the Major examined her closely, and succeeded in obtaining full particulars of the impending danger. The poor woman, affected by his kindness, had been unwilling to see her patron murdered, but fear of the vengeance of her own people, or a natural feeling of interest in their success, had restrained her from sooner betraying their deadly purpose.

Through the night, and previous to the morning's conference, the Indians were distinctly heard performing their war-songs and dances; but no intimation was given them of any suspicion, and the party deputed for the grand talk was admitted within the pickets. Pontiac saw that the garrison was under arms, and he at once asked the reason for such precautions. The major represented that it was merely to discipline his soldiers.

The Ottowa chief opened the council with a haughty and threatening speech, and was about to give the signal for attack—by some peculiar mode of delivering a wampum belt to the commandant—when a sudden change in the demeanor of the English quelled and discomposed him. He heard the drums beat, and saw every soldier's musket levelled, and the swords of the officers drawn and ready for use. Major Gladwyn, stepping to the warrior nearest him, lifted his blanket, and disclosed the shortened rifle. He then upbraided the sachem for his intended villany, and, taking no advantage of the opportunity for securing him, gave proof of his own high-minded sense of honor by dismissing the whole party unharmed. The premeditated treachery of Pontiac would have fully justified the commandant in taking his life, had he deemed it necessary for the protection of himself and people.

Immediately subsequent to the failure of this undertaking, the Indians began openly to attack the town. They barbarously murdered a Mrs. Turnbell and her two sons,

who lived a short distance from the fort; and killed or took prisoners the occupants of an establishment belonging to a Mr. James Fisher, still further up the river.

From five hundred to a thousand Indians were now seen collected to lay siege to the town. The condition of the garrison appeared perilous in the extreme, not only from the insufficient supply of provisions, but from the necessity for keeping constant watch throughout the whole extent of the stockade. The soldiers were wearied by being continually on duty, by the loss of their natural rest; but their courage and spirit appeared to be unsubdued, and the commandant abandoned his first intention of evacuating the place. The French who were residing in Detroit brought about a negotiation, but Pontiac insisted upon the surrender of the town, and of all the valuable goods stored there, as the only condition upon which he would discontinue hostilities. The major was equally determined in his intention of maintaining his position.

The siege commenced early in May, and no succor or supplies reached the garrison for more than a month. About the end of May an attempt had been made to land forces and provisions by boats sent from Niagara, but the vigilance of the Indians rendered it abortive. Many of the English were slain, and many more were reserved to glut the vengeance of the savages, at the stake.

In the month of June, a vessel, also from Niagara, made her way up the river, in spite of the attacks of the Indians, who exposed their lives with the utmost temerity in attempts to board her. Fifty soldiers were landed at the fort, and a timely supply of provision gave new courage to the weary garrison. Mr. Thatcher, in his "Indian Biography," gives extracts from various letters, written from the fort during the siege, which quaintly enough portray the condition of its inmates. We quote the following from a letter of July 9th (1763):

"You have long ago heard of our pleasant Situation, but the storm is blown over. Was it not very agreeable to hear every Day of their cutting, carving, boiling and eating our companions? To see every Day dead Bodies floating down the River, mangled and disfigured? But Britons, you know, never shrink; we always appeared gay to spite the Rascals. They boiled and eat Sir Robert Devers; and we are informed, by Mr. Pauly, who escaped, the other Day, from one of the Stations surprised at the breaking out of the War, and commanded by himself, that he had seen an Indian have the Skin of Captain Robertson's arm for a Tobacco-Pouch!"

A reinforcement of some three hundred men, under Captain Dalyell, reached Detroit the last of July. Thus strengthened, the commander deemed it advisable to make an immediate sally, and, if possible, break up the Indian encampment. Pontiac heard of the intended movement, and was well prepared for the English when they made their sortie in the evening. So deadly and unexpected was the fire of the Indians, who lay concealed on either side of the path, near the bridge over Bloody Run, that more than one hundred of the troops were said to have been killed or wounded.

Subsequent to this period we have no reliable history of the acts of the great sachem of the Ottawas. His people hung round Detroit until the ensuing spring, keeping the inhabitants in continual alarm. The strong force which was led into the western country by General Bradstreet in the early part of the summer of 1764, effectually overawed and quieted the hostile Indians.

Pontiac is said to have been assassinated by a Peoria Indian, in the English interest, while attending a council in 1767. Considerable uncertainty, however, attends the recital of the latter events of his life, and of the causes which led to his death.

THE DELAWARES, SHAWANEES,

AND OTHER TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE AND WESTERN STATES.

CHAPTER I.

THE DELAWARES—WILLIAM PENN—ST. TAMMANY—THE MORAVIANS—THE SHAWNEES—FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT—MASSACRE OF THE CANESTOGA INDIANS—DANIEL BOONE.

"A noble race! but they are gone
With their old forests wide and deep,
And we have built our homes upon
Fields where their generations sleep."

BRYANT.

ASSOCIATED with the early history of the Delawares are thoughts of William Penn, and of his peaceful intercourse with, and powerful influence over, the wild natives with whom he treated. At the first settlement of the country by Europeans, the tribes of this nation occupied no small portion of the present state of Pennsylvania, but their principal settlements lay between the Potomac and the Hudson. Situated between the great northern and southern confederacies, they were in turn at enmity and engaged in wars with either party; but, at an early day, they were in a measure subdued and reduced to a state of inferiority by the Six Nations.

The conduct of Penn towards the Indians has ever been spoken of with high admiration; and we are assured that his care for their interests, and anxiety to secure their



WILLIAM PENN.

rights, and to protect them from wrongs and aggression, caused his name to be idolized among the Delawares. Upon obtaining the immense grant from the crown, named Pennsylvania at the time of its bestowment, his first thought was to draw up a table of "conditions and concessions," for the government of those who should adventure with him in the settlement of the wilderness. He expressly stipulated, in behalf of the Indians, that their persons and property should be protected by the same laws and penalties as those of the whites; that overreaching in trade should be avoided by the conduct of all sales in market overt; that a jury of six whites and six Indians should pass upon matters in dispute between individuals of the different races; and that the interest of the Indian should be made the special care of every magistrate.

In the autumn of 1682, Penn came over from England to regulate his new colony, and especially to confirm the friendly relations existing with the Indians inhabiting his territory. In Clarkson's Memoirs of Penn, the following mention is made of his grand treaty with these native proprietors. From religious scruples, he did not consider his claim, by virtue of the king's grant, to be valid without the assent of the occupants, and he determined to make honorable purchases of all that he should require. Arrangements had been made, by commissioners, previous to Penn's arrival, for a great meeting, for the purpose of ratifying the proposed sale. "He proceeded, therefore, (at the appointed time,) accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there, he found the sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods, as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful, both on account of their number and their arms. The Quakers are reported to have been but a handful in

comparison, and these without any weapon—so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause."

The conference took place upon the site afterwards occupied by the town of Kensington, a few miles above Philadelphia, and called, by the Indians, Shackermaxon. "There was, at Shackermaxon, an elm-tree of prodigious size. To this the leaders, on both sides, repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches." Penn wore no ornament, or symbol of authority, except a blue sash. Standing up before the assembly, he directed the articles of merchandize brought for the purchase, to be spread before him, and, displaying the engrossed copy of the treaty, awaited the movements of the Indian chiefs.

"One of the sachems, who was Chief among them, put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which there appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive Eastern nations, and, according to scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power. * * Upon putting on this horn, the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves round their chiefs, in the form of a half-moon upon the ground."

The interpreter now announced the readiness of the chiefs to listen, and Penn proceeded to read and explain the provisions of the treaty. He premised that he and his people used no warlike implements, but that all their desire was for peace and concord. By the articles of agreement, the Indians were to be allowed to retain possession, for all needful purposes, even of the land sold, and particular specifications were inserted, touching the manner in which their rights should be enforced.

He then made the stipulated payments; distributed additional presents; and, laying the parchment on the ground, proceeded to say that "he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them Children or Brothers only; for

often Parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and Brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the Friendship between him and them to a Chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the Christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts." Handing the parchment to the chief sachem, Penn then desired him and his associates "to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it. * * 'This,' says Voltaire, 'was the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that never was broken.'"

After-accounts of the Indians, as given by Penn and his associates, in which the estimable points of native character are pleasingly portrayed, contrast strangely with the maledictions and bitter expressions of hatred which too many of the early chroniclers heap upon their Indian enemies. Never was a truer saying than the Spanish proverb, "he who has injured you will never forgive you."

The name by which these Indians have ever been designated, was bestowed upon them by the English, from Lord De la War: in their own tongue they were called the Lenni-Lenape, (Original People,) as the chief and principal stock from which mankind in general had sprung.

Conspicuous among the traditions of the Delawares appears the name of their old chief Tamanend, or Tammany. We have no very specific accounts of the history of this renowned sachem, but the veneration with which the Indians recounted his wisdom and virtues served to raise his character so high with the colonists that he was, in a manner, canonized. The "Home Journal," of June 12th, 1852, makes the following mention of the singular respect paid to his memory:

"St. Tammany is, we believe, our only American Saint. He was the chief of an Indian tribe which inhabited Pennsylvania, while that state was still a colony, and excited so much respect by his virtues and exploits, both among the white and red men, that, after his death, he was canonized, and the day of his birth, the first of May, regarded as a holiday.

"'All Christian countries,' says the Savannah Republican, 'have their tutelar saint. England has her St. George; Scotland her St. Andrew; Ireland her St. Patrick; France her St. Crispan; and Spain her St. Jago. In this country we have St. Tammany. Throughout the Revolutionary War, the natal-day of this saint was observed with great respect, by the army as well as by the people. It was not till Mr. Jefferson's administration, when General Dearborn was Secretary of War, that the observance of it by the army was dispensed with, and the change was made then only with the view of carrying out the system of retrenchment which the president sought to introduce in the administration of the government. The first fort built at St. Mary's, Camden county, and perhaps the first fort in the state, was called Fort St. Tammany. A gentleman now residing in this city was present, while a boy, at a celebration, by the officers and soldiers stationed at the fort, of St. Tammany's-day. The May-pole used on this occasion was a tree, with its branches and bark removed; and around that the soldiers danced and celebrated the day.'"

It was among the Delawares that one of the most interesting communities of Christian Indians ever existing in America, was established by the efforts of the Moravian mission. The venerable Count Zinzendorf, David Zeisberger, and John Heckewelder, were zealous and prominent partakers in the work of converting and instructing the Indians. From Heckewelder we have received much minute and interesting detail of the habits of the people



COL. GEORGE WASHINGTON.

among whom he labored, and the humanizing and enduring influence of Christian doctrine, enforced by good example on the part of its preachers.

The circumstances under which the missionary work was carried on, were extremely adverse. During the long and bloody French and Indian wars, every tale of border cruelties and massacre, committed by the savages, would instantly arouse a spirit of retaliation against the whole race, which frequently resulted in the most brutal outrages against the peaceful Moravian Indians. A population of lawless whites inhabited the border country, whom Heckewelder mildly rebukes in the following terms:

"I have yet to notice a class of people generally known to us by the name of 'backwoods-men,' many of whom, acting up to a pretended belief, that 'an Indian has no more soul than a buffalo;' and that to kill either is the same thing; have, from time to time, by their conduct, brought great trouble and bloodshed on the country. Such then I wish to caution, not to sport in that manner with the lives of God's creatures. * * * * Believe that a time will come when you must account for such vile deeds! When those who have fallen a sacrifice to your wickedness, will be called forth in judgment against you! nay, when *your own descendants will testify against you.*"

The Shawanees were a very extensive and warlike tribe. They were, according to Indian tradition, originally from the south, having inhabited the country in the vicinity of Savannah, in Georgia, and a portion of West Florida. Being engaged in continual war with the Creeks and other southern nations, and being of an adventurous and roving disposition, they finally emigrated northward, and were received upon terms of friendship by the Delawares. They settled in Western Pennsylvania, extending them-

selves gradually farther west, and mingling with other neighboring nations. Their head-quarters were, in early times, not far from Pittsburgh. In their new homes they prospered and increased, and long remained one of the most formidable nations of the west. They united with the Delawares in hostilities against the southern tribes.

In after-times, thrilling legends of war and massacre in "the dark and bloody ground," and throughout the western border, attest the active and dangerous spirit of this warlike and implacable tribe. In the French and Indian wars, and in the long struggle which resulted in our national independence, they were so mingled with other western tribes that we shall not attempt to distinguish them, nor shall we devote that space to the biography of many of their chiefs and warriors which their prowess might demand in a more extended work. We shall give, in their order, some of the more celebrated Indian campaigns at the west, with various incidents connected with the first settlement of the western states.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, the French, as already mentioned, had, in strengthening their cordon of posts between their settlements in Canada and Louisiana, formed alliance with many Indian tribes to whom they were brought in proximity. Their nearest and most dangerous approach to the English establishments, was in the erection of the military stronghold called Fort Duquesne at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela. In the attempt to dislodge them from this post the military talents of George Washington were first exhibited. After distinguishing himself by his bravery and prudence in contests with the Indians and French, which, owing to an insufficiency of force, resulted in nothing decisive or materially advantageous, he was attached to the powerful army under General Braddock, in the capacity of aid-de-camp to the commanding officer.

With a force of more than two thousand men, besides some Indian allies, the British general set systematically about the reduction of the French fort. Leaving a large body of troops under Colonel Dunbar, at Great Meadows, he marched in compact military array to the attack. No one doubts the courage of General Braddock, or his capacity to have conducted a campaign in an open and inhabited country, but his dogmatic obstinacy and adherence to established tactics proved, upon this occasion, the destruction of himself and his army.

When Washington, then only twenty-two years of age, respectfully represented to his superior the danger of an exposed march through a country like that they were traversing, and suggested the necessity for providing a sufficient party of scouts acquainted with the locality, to guard against surprise, he was insultingly checked by the ejaculation: "High times! high times! when a young Buckskin teaches a British general how to fight."

It was on the 9th of July, 1755, that the engagement took place. Captain Contrecœur, who had command of the fort, had obtained information of the advance upon the previous day, and dispatched M. de Beaujeu, with all the troops he could muster, to meet the enemy. His whole available force consisted of from five hundred to one thousand men, of whom the majority were Indians, but a knowledge of the ground, and the gross error of the English commander, more than compensated for the disparity in numbers and discipline. An ambush was formed where a ravine led from a plain into a high wooded piece of ground. The advancing column had no sooner penetrated into this defile than the attack commenced.

A most appalling carnage ensued: the Indians, firing from covert upon the closely marshalled ranks of the regulars, soon threw them into utter confusion. M. Beaujeu, was, indeed, killed at the first onset, but his lieuten-

ant, Dumas, continued to inspire his troops, and cheer them on to their now easy victory. A complete rout ensued, and the Indians, rushing from their places of concealment, fell upon the panic-stricken fugitives with their deadly tomahawks. The Virginians alone presented in any degree effective in resisting the enemy and covering the disorderly retreat. The loss, on the part of the British, in killed, wounded and prisoners, was not far from eight hundred. All the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the French, who, with their Indian allies, remained in undisputed possession of the field.

Falling back upon Colonel Dunbar's reserve, instead of making a renewed stand, the whole army continued a precipitate retreat into Virginia. In this action most of the Virginia troops, who, adopting the Indian manner of warfare, betook themselves to sheltered positions when the fight commenced, fell victims to their constancy and bravery. Colonel Washington had not fully recovered from a severe attack of illness at the time and was with great difficulty able to undergo the fatigues incident to his position. He had two horses shot under him, and received four bullets through his coat, but escaped from the conflict unwounded. General Braddock died a few days after, of a wound in the lungs.

The Delawares, and more especially the Shawanees, were implicated in the extensive conspiracy excited by the renowned Pontiac, in the year 1763. It was in this year that a cruel and disgraceful outrage was perpetrated upon a peaceful community of Indians at Canestoga, near Lancaster. No sooner had news of Indian murders and ravages been spread among the white settlements, than a determination was evinced by certain miscreants to destroy these harmless people, upon suspicion or pretence

that they were concerned, in some way, in the recent border outrages.

The Canestoga Indians were few in number, and perfectly peaceful and inoffensive. They had inhabited the same little settlement for more than a century, and, according to Heckewelder, "their ancestors had been among those who had welcomed William Penn, on his first arrival in this country; presenting him, at the time, with venison, &c."

In the month of November, (1763,) fifty-seven white savages started from Paxton to destroy this establishment. They murdered all whom they could find, to the number of fourteen, of every age and sex: the remainder (fifteen or twenty) escaped to Lancaster, and were locked up, for safety, in the jail. Hither the "Paxton boys," as they were termed, pursued the poor creatures, and, breaking into the inclosure, brutally massacred the whole of them. The following is extracted from the letter of an eye-witness to this transaction.

" * * I ran into the prison-yard, and there, O what a horrid sight presented itself to my view!!——Near the back door of the prison, lay an old Indian and his squaw, (wife,) particularly well known and esteemed by the people of the town, on account of his placid and friendly conduct. His name was Will Sock; across him and his squaw lay two children of about the age of three years, whose heads were split with the tomahawk, and their scalps all taken off. Towards the middle of the gaol-yard, along the west side of the wall, lay a stout Indian, whom I particularly noticed to have been shot in the breast, his legs were chopped with the tomahawk, his hands cut off, and finally a rifle-ball discharged in his mouth; so that his head was blown to atoms, and the brains were splashed against, and yet hanging to the wall, for three or four feet around. * * In this manner lay the whole of them, men

women and children, spread about the prison-yard: shot--scalped—hacked—and cut to pieces."

The events of Cresap's war, in which the Shawanees and Delawares were so largely concerned, have been already briefly described, in connection with the history of the Iroquois. After the great battle at Point Pleasant, in which they and their allies were defeated, a short cessation of hostilities between them and the colonists ensued. The breaking out of the revolutionary war revived old animosities, and suggested new motives for contention. The Shawanees were early won over to espouse the British interests: the division of the Delawares upon the question will be hereafter explained.

The best information handed down to us concerning the Shawanees, at this period, is to be found in the adventures of the bold pioneer, Daniel Boon. Impatient of the restraints or competitions of an inhabited country, and led by a roving, adventurous spirit, and by an enthusiastic admiration of the beauties and grandeur of the unsettled western wilderness, he forced his way into the trackless solitudes of Kentucky, and laid the foundation of a settlement whose growth and prosperity are almost unparalleled.

On the 8th of February, 1778, Boone was taken prisoner by a strong force of these Indians, then on their march against the settlement at Boonesborough. He was carried to their principal town, Old Chilicothe, on the Little Miami, and there had abundant opportunity for observing their native peculiarities and usages. His character, somewhat analogous to that of Captain John Smith, Benjamin Church, and others, noted for their successes with the Indians, was bold, frank, and fearless. Men of such nature and disposition, however rude and uncultivated, are always the best able to conciliate the affections, as well as exercise control over the minds of savages.

Boone's captors took such a liking to him that they

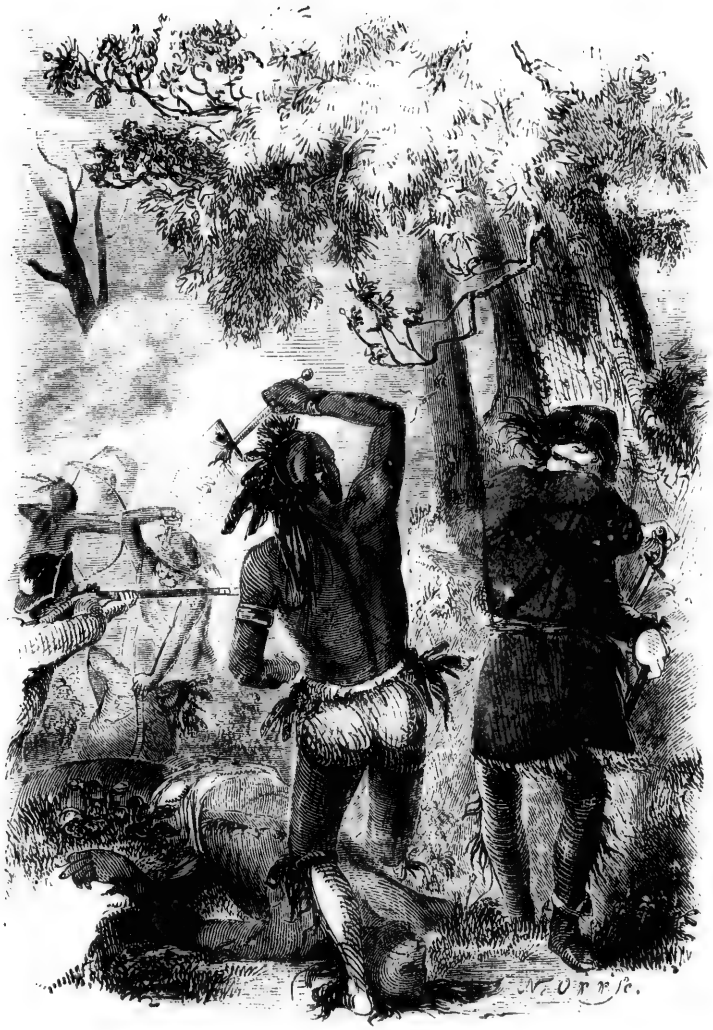
positively refused to deliver him up to the English, at Detroit, whither he was conveyed with his companions. Leaving the rest of their prisoners at that post, they took him back to Chilicothe, refusing the governor's offer of one hundred pounds if they would part with their favorite. The king of the tribe treated Boone with great courtesy and respect, and he had no reason to complain of his accommodations, as he enjoyed whatever comforts were within the reach of his masters. He was adopted into a family, according to the usual Indian custom; in which position he says: "I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me."

His captivity lasted until the month of June, when, returning from a salt-making excursion, on the Scioto, he found four hundred and fifty Shawanee warriors, collected with arms and war-paint, and bound on an expedition against Boonesborough. This incited him to attempt an escape, that he might forewarn the settlement of the intent. He fled a little before day, on the 16th, and made the journey, of one hundred and sixty miles, supported by a single meal.

The bold and astonishing defence of the little fort at Boonesborough, in the month of August, against a large force of Indians, accompanied by certain Frenchmen, is simply and unostentatiously described in the auto-biography of this redoubted pioneer. The enemy, after a siege of twelve days, in which every expedient of force and treachery failed to dislodge the garrison, were forced to retire without effecting their purpose. One of their stratagems was as follows: A treaty was proposed by the assailants, and after the articles were drawn up, in front of the fort, and formally signed, in the words of the narrative: "the

Indians told us it was customary with them on such occasions for two Indians to shake hands with every white man on the treaty, as an evidence of entire friendship. We agreed to this, but were soon convinced their policy was to take us prisoners. They immediately grappled us; but, though surrounded by hundreds of savages, we extricated ourselves from them, and escaped all safe into the garrison, except one that was wounded, through a heavy fire from their army."

Boone took a prominent part in many of the contests which preceded the quiet occupation of the land of his choice, and underwent toils, dangers, and privations seldom awarded to any one man; but he lived to enjoy the fruits of his labors. An old Indian, upon the occasion of one of the more important treaties of cession, after signing the articles, took Boone by the hand, saying: "Brother, we have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it." The old settler adds, speaking of the former appellation bestowed on this "debateable ground": "My footsteps have often been marked with blood, and therefore I can truly subscribe to its original name. Two darling sons and a brother have I lost by savage hands. * * Many dark and sleepless nights have I been a companion for owls, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun, and pinched by the winter's cold—an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: peace crowns the sylvan shade."



BORDER ENCOUNTER.



TRAPPING THE BEAR.

CHAPTER II.

DIVISION OF THE DELAWARES—WHITE-EYES, AND PIPE—INDIAN CONFEDERACY OF 1781—ATTACK ON BRYANT'S STATION, AND BATTLE NEAR THE BLUE LICKS—GENERAL CLARKE'S EXPEDITION—DISASTROUS CAMPAIGNS OF HARMAR AND ST. CLAIR—MILITARY OPERATIONS OF GENERAL WAYNE—DECISIVE BATTLE NEAR THE MAUMEE RAPIDS, AND SUBSEQUENT TREATY OF PEACE.

"They waste us—ay—like April snow
In the warm noon, we shrink away;
And fast they follow as we go
Towards the setting day—
Till they shall fill the land, and we
Are driven into the western sea."
BRYANT.

As the settlements of the Europeans continued to increase, the Delawares gradually removed from their old quarters, on the river and bay which bear their name, to the wilderness of the west. No small portion of the tribe was, at the breaking out of the revolutionary war, settled in Ohio, on the banks of the Muskingum, and in the adjacent country.

Every influence was brought to bear, by the English emissaries among the Delawares, to induce them to take up the hatchet against the rebellious Americans. The effort was, in part, successful: a large party, headed by the celebrated Captain Pipe, a chief of the Wolf tribe, declared for the king, while those inclined to peace and neutrality, or whose sympathies were on the side of the colonies, remained under the guidance of Koguethagechton—Anglice, Captain White-Eyes. The disasters and perplexities in which the nation was involved by such a division might

readily be foreseen. Both the opposing leaders were men of talent, energy, and boldness, and each was heart and soul enlisted in the cause to which he had united himself.

It is recorded of White-Eyes that, early in the war, he met with a deputation of the Senecas, (then, as we have seen, in the English interest,) and boldly avowed his own opinion. In reply to the old taunt, thrown out by one of the Iroquois, of former subjection and humiliation, the chief broke forth indignantly: "I know well that you consider us a conquered nation—as women—as your inferiors. You have, say you, shortened our legs, and put petticoats on us! You say you have given us a hoe and a corn-pounder, and told us to plant and pound for you—you *men*, you *warriors!* But look at *me*. Am I not full-grown, and have I not a warrior's dress? Ay, I am a man, and these are the arms of a man,—and all that country (pointing towards the Alleghany) on the other side of the water, is *mine!*" White-Eyes was signally successful in his efforts to undeceive the Indians within his influence, who had been tampered with and imposed upon by English agents, or excited by sympathy with the war-party. His death, which took place at Tuscarawas, in the winter of 1779–80, was a very unfortunate event for the Americans. He died of that great scourge of the Indian races, the small-pox.

The spring of 1781 was a terrible season for the white settlements in Kentucky and the whole border country. The savages who surrounded them had never shown so constant and systematic a determination for murder and mischief. Early in the summer, a great meeting of Indian deputies from the Shawanees, Delawares, Cherokees, Wyandots, Tawas, Pottawatomies, and divers other tribes from the north-western lakes, met in grand council of war at Old Chilicothe. The persuasions and influence of two infamous whites, one McKee, and the notorious Simon

Girty, "inflamed their savage minds to mischief, and led them to execute every diabolical scheme."

Bryant's station, a post five miles from Lexington, was fixed upon, by the advice of Girty, as a favorable point for the first attack. About five hundred Indians and whites encompassed the place accordingly, on the 15th of August. Stratagem and assault alike failed to effect an entrance: a small rēinforcement from Lexington managed to join the garrison, and the besiegers were compelled to retire on the third day, having lost thirty of their number. When Girty came forward, on one occasion during the siege, bearing a flag of truce, and proposing a surrender, he was received with every expression of disgust and contempt. His offers were spurned, and he retired, "cursing and cursed," to his followers.

The enemy were pursued, on their return, by Colonels Todd and Trigg, Daniel Boone, and Major Harland, with one hundred and seventy-six men. The rashness of some individuals of this party, who were unwilling to listen to the prudent advice of Boone, that an engagement should be avoided until a large expected rēinforcement should arrive, led to their utter discomfiture. They came up with the Indians at a bend in Licking river, beyond the Blue Licks, and had hardly forded the stream when they were attacked by an overpowering force. The enemy had cut off all escape, except by rēcrossing the river, in the attempt to accomplish which, multitudes were destroyed. Sixty-seven of the Americans were killed; among the number, the three principal officers and a son of Boone.

The outrages of the savages were, soon after this, signally punished. General Clarke, at the head of a thousand men, rendezvousing at Fort Washington, where Cincinnati now stands, invaded the Indian territory. The inhabitants fled, in terror, at the approach of so formidable an army

leaving their towns to be destroyed. "We continued our pursuit," says Boone, who was with the army, "through five towns on the Miami river—Old Chilicothe, Pecaway, New Chilicothe, Willis' Towns, and Chilicothe—burnt them all to ashes, entirely destroyed their corn, and other fruits, and every where spread a scene of desolation in the country."

After hostilities between England and America had ceased, these western tribes of Indians still continued to molest the border inhabitants of the colonies. Attempts to bring about conferences failed signally in producing any marked or permanent benefit, and it was determined by the government to humble them by force of arms.

In the autumn of 1791, General Harmar marched into the Indian territories, at the head of nearly fifteen hundred men. The campaign was signally unsuccessful. The army returned to Fort Washington, dispirited and broken down, having sustained a heavy loss in men and officers, and with the mortifying consciousness of an utter failure in the accomplishment of the end in view.

Major-General Arthur St. Clair was appointed to the command of the next expedition. With a force of more than two thousand men, he marched towards the Indian settlements, and on the 3d of November, (1791,) encamped within fifteen miles of the Miami villages. On his way from Fort Washington to this point, he had built and garrisoned Forts Hamilton and Jefferson. By this reduction of his troops, and by a more extensive loss from the desertion of some hundreds of cowardly militia, he had, at the time of which we are speaking, but about fourteen hundred effective soldiers.

The confederate Indian tribes kept themselves perfectly informed, by their scouting parties, of all the enemy's movements, and, emboldened by recent success, prepared to give the advancing army a warm reception. The prin-

cipal leader of the united nations, was the celebrated Miami chief, Michikinaqua, or Little Turtle. He was one of the greatest warriors and most sagacious rulers ever known among the red men, and he had now an opportunity for the full display of his abilities. An immense horde of fierce savages, impatient for war, was under his control, and his movements were seconded by able subordinates. Among these, the most noted were Buckongahelas, now war chief of the Delawares, and Blue-Jacket, the Shawanee. According to Colonel Stone, the great Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea, was also present, lending the assistance of his counsel and arms. Hurons or Wyandots, Iroquois, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Chippewas, Miamies, Delawares, and Shawanees, with a host of minor tribes, were collected to repel the common enemy. The number of their warriors assembled on the present occasion is estimated to have been about fifteen hundred, although some have set it down at twice that force.

Before the rising of the sun, on the following day, (November 4th,) the savages fell upon the camp of the whites. Never was a more decisive victory obtained. In vain did the American general and his officers exert themselves to maintain order, and to rally the bewildered troops. The Indians, firing from covert, thinned the ranks and picked off the officers by a continuous and murderous discharge. A disorderly retreat was the result: Artillery, baggage, and no small portion of the small arms of the militia, fell into the hands of the exultant pursuers. Fort Jefferson was nearly thirty miles distant, and thither the defeated army directed its flight. The Indians followed close upon the fugitives, cutting down and destroying at will, until, as is reported, one of their chiefs called out to them to "stop, as they had killed enough!"

The temptation offered by the plunder to be obtained at the camp induced the Indians to return, and the remnant

of the invading army reached Fort Jefferson about sunset The loss, in this battle, on the part of the whites, was no less than eight hundred and ninety-four! in killed, wounded, or missing. Thirty-eight officers, and five hundred and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates were slain or missing. The Indians lost but few of their men, judging from a comparison of the different accounts, not much over fifty.

At the deserted camp the victorious tribes took up their quarters, and delivered themselves up to riot and exultation. General Scott, with a regiment of mounted Kentucky volunteers, drove them from the spot a few weeks later, with the loss of their plunder and of some two hundred of their warriors.

No further important movement was made to overthrow the power of the Indians for nearly three years from this period. Negotiation proved utterly fruitless with a race of savages inflated by their recent brilliant successes, and consequently exhorbitant in their demands. When it was finally evident that nothing but force could check the continuance of border murders and robbery, an army was collected, and put under the command of General Wayne, sometimes called "Mad Anthony," in a rude style of compliment to his energy and courage, not uncommon in those times. The Indians denominated him the "Black-Snake."

The winter of 1793–4 was spent in fortifying a military post at Greenville, on the Miami, and another, named Fort Recovery, upon the field of St. Clair's defeat. The last-mentioned station was furiously attacked by the Indians, assisted by certain Canadians and English, on the 30th of the following June, but without success. It was not until August, (1794,) that General Wayne felt himself sufficiently reinforced, and his military posts sufficiently strengthened and supplied, to justify active operations in the enemy's country.

When the army was once put in motion, important and decisive events rapidly succeeded. The march was directed into the heart of the Indian settlements on the Miami, now called Maumee, a river emptying into the western extremity of Lake Erie. Where the beautiful stream Au Glaise empties into this river, a fort was immediately erected, and named Fort Defiance. From this post General Wayne sent emissaries to invite the hostile nations to negotiation, but the pride and rancor of the Indians prevented any favorable results. Little Turtle, indeed, seemed to forebode the impending storm, and advised the acceptance of the terms offered. "The Americans," said he, "are now led by a chief who never sleeps: the night and the day are alike to him. * * Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace."

The British, at this time, in defiance of their treaties with the United States, still maintained possession of various military posts at the west. A strong fort and garrison was established by them near the Miami rapids, and in that vicinity the main body of the Indian warriors was encamped. Above, and below the American camp, the Miami, and Au Glaise, according to Wayne's dispatches, presented, for miles, the appearance of a single village, and rich corn-fields spread on either side. "I have never seen," says the writer, "such immense fields of corn in any part of America, from Canada to Florida."

Negotiations proved futile: the Indians were evidently bent on war, and only favored delay for the purpose of collecting their full force. General Wayne therefore marched upon them, and, on the 20th of the month, a terrible battle was fought, in which the allied tribes were totally defeated and dispersed. The Indians greatly outnumbered their opponents, and had taken their usual precautions in selecting a favorable spot for defence. They

could not, however, resist the attack of brave and disciplined troops, directed by so experienced and skillful a leader as Wayne. The fight terminated—in the words of the official dispatch—"under the guns of the British garrison. * * The woods were strewed, for a considerable distance, with the dead bodies of Indians and their white auxiliaries; the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets."

Some days were now spent in laying waste the fields and villages of the miserable savages, whose spirit seemed to be completely broken by this reverse. By the first of January following, the influence of Little Turtle and Buckongahelas, both of whom saw the folly of further quarrels with the United States, and the hopelessness of reliance upon England, negotiations for peace were commenced, and, in August, (1795,) a grand treaty was concluded at Greenville.

CHAPTER III.

CONDITION OF THE INDIANS SUBSEQUENT TO THE PEACE—THE PROPHET ELSKWATAWA—TECUMSEH: HIS PLANS AND INTRIGUES —GENERAL HARRISON'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PROPHET'S TOWN—DEFEAT OF THE INDIANS AT TIPPECANOE—WAR OF 1812—HARRISON'S INVASION OF CANADA—BATTLE OF THE THAMES, AND DEATH OF TECUMSEH.

NEARLY ten years of peace succeeded the treaty of Greenville, an interval which proved little less destructive to the tribes of the north-west than the desolations of their last calamitous war. The devastating influence of intemperance was never more fearfully felt than in the experience of these Indian nations at the period whose history


Gen. HARRISON.





TECUMSEH.

we are now recording. General Harrison, then commissioner for Indian affairs, reported their condition in the following terms: "So destructive has been the progress of intemperance among them, that whole villages have been swept away. A miserable remnant is all that remains to mark the names and situation of many numerous and warlike tribes. In the energetic language of one of their orators, it is a dreadful conflagration, which spreads misery and desolation through their country, and threatens the annihilation of the whole race."

While this deadly evil was constantly increasing, in the year 1804, a distinguished Indian orator began to excite a wide-spread discontent among the nations of the former north-western confederacy. This was the self-styled prophet, Elskwatawa, Olliwayshila, or Olliwachaca. About the year 1770, a woman of one of the southern tribes, domesticated with the Shawanees, according to report, became mother to three children at a single birth, who received the names of TECUMSEH, Elskwatawa, and Kumshaka—the last being unknown to fame. Their father, a Shawanee warrior, perished in the great battle at Point Pleasant. By the time that Tecumseh had attained the age of manhood, he had already become noted as a bold and sagacious warrior. For years before the overthrow of the Indian power by General Wayne, he had been foremost in the incursions which spread desolation throughout the western settlements; and when the peace, concluded at Greenville, deprived him of a field for warlike enterprise, he only retired to brood over new mischief, and, in conjunction with his brother, the Prophet, to excite a more extensive conspiracy than had ever before been perfected.

With consummate art, Elskwatawa exposed the evils attendant on the white man's encroachments, exhorting to sobriety and a universal union for resistance. He proclaimed himself especially commissioned by the Great

Spirit to foretell, and to hasten, by his own efforts, the destruction of the intruders, and by various appeals to the vanity, the superstition, and the spirit of revenge, of his auditors, he acquired a strong and enduring influence. The chiefs who opposed or ridiculed his pretensions were denounced as wizards or sorcerers, and proofs, satisfactory to the minds of the Indians, being adduced in support of the accusation, numbers perished at the stake, leaving a clear field for the operations of the impostor.

Tecumseh, meanwhile, was not idle. It is said that the noted Seneca chief, Red-Jacket, first counselled him to set about the work to which he devoted his life, holding out to him the tempting prospect of a recovery of the rich and extensive valley of the Mississippi from the possession of the whites. Whatever originated the idea in his mind, he lent all the powerful energy of his character to its accomplishment. The tribes concerned in the proposed out-break were mostly the same that had in earlier times been aroused by Pontiac, and had again united, under Michikinaqua, as we have seen in the preceding chapter. The undertaking of Tecumseh and his brother was not of easy or speedy accomplishment, but their unwearied efforts and high natural endowments gradually gave them both an unprecedented ascendancy over the minds of the Indians. In 1807, the new movement among the Western Indians called for attention on the part of the United States, and General, then Governor, Harrison dispatched a message of warning and reproach to the leading men of the Shawanee tribe. The prophet dictated, in reply, a letter, in which he denied the charges circulated against him, and strenuously asserted that nothing was farther from his thoughts than any design of creating a disturbance. In the summer of the following year this subtle intriguer established himself on the Tippecanoe river, a tributary of the Wabash, in the northern part of the state of Indiana.

From this place, where he lived surrounded by a crowd of admiring followers, the Prophet proceeded shortly after to Vincennes, and spent some time in communication with Governor Harrison, for the purpose of disarming suspicion. He continually insisted that the whole object of his preaching to the Indians was to persuade them to relinquish their vices, and lead sober and peaceable lives; and to this effect he often exhorted his people in the presence of the United States' government officials.

In September, of 1809, while Tecumseh was pushing his intrigues among various distant tribes, Governor Harrison obtained a cession, for certain stipulated annuities, of a large tract of land on the lower portion of the Wabash, from the tribes of the Miamis, Delawares, Pottawatomies, and Kickapoos. On Tecumseh's return in the following year, he, with his brother, made vehement remonstrances against this proceeding, and a somewhat stormy interview took place between the great chief and Governor Harrison, each party being attended by a powerful armed force. Upon this occasion, Tecumseh first openly avowed his design of forming an universal coalition of the Indian nations, by which the progress of the whites westward should be arrested, but he still insisted that it was not his intention to make war. One great principle which he endeavored to enforce was that no Indian lands should be sold, except by consent of all the confederate tribes. Two days after this conference he started for the south, with a few attendant warriors, to spread disaffection among the Creeks, Cherokees, and other tribes of the southern states.

In the following year, (1811,) during the prolonged absence of Tecumseh, and contrary, as is supposed, to his express instructions, bold and audacious depredations and murders were committed by the horde of savages gathered at the Prophet's town. Representations were forwarded

to Washington of the necessity for active measures in restraint of these outrages, and a regiment, under Colonel Boyd, was promptly marched from Pittsburg to Vincennes, and placed under the command of Harrison. With this force, and a body of militia and volunteers, the whole amounting to about nine hundred men, the governor marched from Fort Harrison, on the Wabash, for the Prophet's town, on the 28th of October. He had previously made various attempts, through the intervention of some friendly Delaware and Miami chiefs, to bring about a negotiation, a restoration of the stolen property, and a delivery up of the murderers; but his emissaries were treated with contempt and his proposals spurned.

The march was conducted with the greatest military skill. A feint was made of taking up the line of march on the south bank of the river; after which, the whole army crossed the stream, and hastened towards the hostile settlement through the extensive prairies, stretching farther than the eye could reach toward the west. On the 5th of November, having met with no opposition on the route, Harrison encamped within nine miles of the Prophet's town. Approaching the town on the ensuing day, various futile attempts were made to open a conference. Menaces and insults were the only reply to these overtures. Before the troops reached the town, however, messengers from Elskwatawa came forward, proposing a truce, and the arrangement for a conference upon the following day. The chief averred that he had sent a pacific embassy to the governor, but that those charged with the mission had gone down the river on the opposite bank, and thus missed him. Harrison assented to a cessation of hostilities until the next day, but took wise precautions for security against a treacherous night attack.

The suspicions of the prudent general proved to be well-founded. The darkness of the night favored the designs

of the Indians, and, before day-break, about four o'clock, the alarm of an attack was given. In the words of one of Harrison's biographers: "The treacherous Indians had stealthily crept up near our sentries, with the intention of rushing upon them and killing them before they could give the alarm. But fortunately one of the sentries discovered an Indian creeping towards him through the grass, and fired at him. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a furious charge upon the left flank."

The onset of the Indians, stimulated as they were by the assurances of their prophet, that certain success awaited them, was unprecedented for fury and determination. They numbered from five hundred to a thousand, and were led by White Loon, Stone-Eater, and a treacherous Pottawatomie chief named Winnemac. The Prophet took, personally, no share in the engagement. The struggle continued until day-light, when the assailants were driven off and dispersed. Great praise has been deservedly awarded to the commanding officer of the whites for his steady courage and generalship during the trying scenes of this night's encounter. The troops, although no small number of them were now, for the first time, in active service, displayed great firmness and bravery. The Indians immediately abandoned their town, which the army proceeded to destroy, tearing down the fortifications and burning the buildings. The object of the expedition being thus fully accomplished, the troops were marched back to Vincennes.

In the battle at Tippecanoe, the loss of the victors was probably greater than that of the savages. Thirty-eight of the latter were left dead upon the field: of the whites, fifty were killed, and nearly one hundred wounded. It is not to be supposed that the Prophet's influence maintained its former hold upon his followers after this defeat. He takes indeed, from this time forward, a place in history entirely subordinate to his warlike and powerful brother.

An interval of comparative quiet succeeded this overthrow of the Prophet's concentrated forces, a quiet destined to be broken by a far more extensive and disastrous war. When open hostilities commenced between England and the United States, in 1812, it was at once evident that the former country had pursued her old policy of rousing up the savages to ravage our defenceless frontier, with unprecedented success. Tecumseh proved a more valuable coadjutor, if possible, than Brant had been during the revolution, in uniting the different nations against the American interests.

To particularize the part taken by this great warrior and statesman in the war, would involve too prolonged a description of the various incidents of the western campaigns. By counsel and persuasion; by courage in battle; and by the energy of a powerful mind devoted to the cause he had espoused, he continued until his death to aid his English allies. A strong British fortress at Malden, on the eastern or Canada shore of Detroit river, proved a rendezvous for the hostile Indians, of the utmost danger to the inhabitants of the north-western frontier. The place was under the command of the British General Proctor; the officer whose infamous neglect or countenance led to the massacre of a body of wounded prisoners at Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, in January, 1813. This post was abandoned by the British and Indians, about the time of the invasion of Canada, in September, of the above year, by the American troops under Harrison. The invading army encamped at the deserted and dismantled fortress, "from which had issued, for years past, those ruthless bands of savages, which had swept so fiercely over our extended frontier, leaving death and destruction only in their path."

General Harrison hastened in pursuit of the enemy up the Thames river, and, on the 4th of October, encamped a

few miles above the forks of the river, and erected a slight fortification. On the 5th, the memorable battle of the Thames was fought. General Proctor awaited the approach of the American forces at a place chosen by himself, near Moravian town, as presenting a favorable position for a stand. His forces, in regulars and Indians, rather outnumbered those of his opponents, being set down at two thousand eight hundred; the Americans numbered twenty-five hundred, mostly militia and volunteers. The British army "was flanked, on the left, by the river Thames, and supported by artillery, and on the right by two extensive swamps, running nearly parallel to the river, and occupied by a strong body of Indians. * * The Indians were commanded by Tecumseh in person."

The British line was broken by the first charge of Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment, and being thrown into irretrievable disorder, the troops were unable to rally, or oppose any further effective resistance. Nearly the whole army surrendered at discretion. Proctor, with a few companions, effected his escape. The Indians, protected by the covert where they were posted, were not so easily dislodged. They maintained their position until after the defeat of their English associates and the death of their brave leader. By whose hand Tecumseh fell, does not appear to be decisively settled; but, according to the ordinarily received account, he was rushing upon Colonel Johnson, with his tomahawk, when the latter shot him dead with a pistol.

This battle was, in effect, the conclusion of the north-western Indian war. Deputations from various tribes appeared suing for peace; and during this and the ensuing year, when Generals Harrison and Cass, with Governor Shelby, were appointed commissioners to treat with the North-western tribes, important treaties were effected.

Tecumseh was buried near the field of battle, and a

mound still marks his grave. The British government, not unmindful of his services, granted a pension to his widow and family, as well as to the Prophet Elskwatawa.

CHAPTER IV.

ACQUISITION AND SALE, BY THE UNITED STATES, OF INDIAN LANDS IN ILLINOIS—BLACK-HAWK—THE SACS REMOVED WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI—RETURN OF BLACK-HAWK AND HIS FOLLOWERS—DEFEAT OF MAJOR STILLMAN—THE HOSTILE INDIANS PURSUED BY ATKINSON AND DODGE—THEIR DEFEAT ON THE BANK OF THE MISSISSIPPI—BLACK-HAWK'S SURRENDER—HE IS TAKEN TO WASHINGTON—HIS SUBSEQUENT CAREER.

WITH the rapid increase of a white population between the Lakes and the Mississippi, which followed the conclusion of hostilities with England and her Indian allies, new difficulties began to arise between the natives and the settlers. Illinois and Wisconsin were inhabited by various tribes of Indians, upon terms of bitter hostility among themselves, but united in their suspicions and apprehensions at the unprecedented inroads of emigrants from the east.

The Winnebagos, dwelling in Wisconsin; the Pottawatomies, situated around the southern extremity of Lake Michigan; and the Sacs, (afterwards mingled with the Foxes, and usually coupled with that tribe,) of Illinois, principally located upon Rock river, were the most considerable of these north-western tribes. By various cessions, the United States acquired, in the early part of the present century, a title to extensive tracts of country, lying east of the Mississippi, and included in the present state of

Illinois. The tribes who sold the land were divided in opinion; great numbers of the occupants of the soil were utterly opposed to its alienation, and denied the authority of the chiefs, by whose negotiation the sales or cessions were effected; and upon the parcelling out and the sale by the United States government of this public property to private individuals, conflicting claims soon led to serious disturbances.

In July, of 1830, a treaty was formed at Prairie du Chien, between United States commissioners and the tribes of the Iowas, Sioux, Omawhas, Sacs and Foxes, &c., for the purpose of finally arranging the terms upon which the lands east of the Mississippi should be yielded up. The Sac chief, Keokuk, was present, and assenting to the arrangement in behalf of his people; but a strong party, headed by the celebrated Black-Hawk, utterly refused to abide by it. This chief was then between sixty and seventy years of age, and had been, from early youth, a noted warrior. He was born at some Indian settlement upon the Rock river, and retained through life a strong attachment to the place of his nativity and the stream upon whose banks he so long resided. He was a Pottawatomie, but his whole life was spent among the Sacs.

To enforce the removal of the Sacs from their villages, on Rock river, General Gaines visited that locality in June, 1831. He proceeded up the river in a steamer, with several pieces of artillery and two companies of infantry. The general spoke of his visit as follows: "Their village is immediately on Rock river, and so situated that I could, from the steam-boat, destroy all their bark houses, (the only kind of houses they have,) in a few minutes, with the force now with me, probably without the loss of a man. But I am resolved to abstain from firing a shot without some bloodshed, or some manifest attempt to shed blood, on the part of the Indians. I have already induced nearly

one-third of them to cross the Mississippi to their own land. The residue, however, say, as the friendly chiefs report, that they never will move; and, what is very uncommon, the women urge their hostile husbands to fight rather than to move, and thus abandon their homes."

Before the close of the month the forces of the United States and the state militia took possession of the settlement. The Indians made no attempt at resistance, and betook themselves to the western bank of the Mississippi. In the spring of the following year, the Saes began to straggle back to their old towns in Illinois; and Black-Hawk, with a considerable force of his warriors, marched up Rock river, with the avowed intent of spending the summer, and raising a supply of corn among the Pottawatomies, in accordance with an invitation from that tribe. He proceeded quietly and peaceably up the river, offering no violence to either the persons or property of the white inhabitants. A body of mounted militia, under Major Stillman, set out in pursuit of the Indians about the middle of May. On their approach to his temporary quarters, Black-Hawk sent a number of his followers to meet and confer with the commanding officer; but it so happened, either through mistake as to their intentions, or from a reckless depravity on the part of certain of the whites, that several of these emissaries were killed.

Roused by this injurious treatment, the Indian chief prepared to fall upon his pursuers at a point where an ambuscade could be rendered most effective. It is said that when the militia came up, he had but about forty warriors with him, (the rest of his men being off in pursuit of game,) while the whites numbered no less than two hundred and seventy! As these undisciplined troops were crossing Sycamore creek, in entire disorder, and without any precaution against a surprise, they were fiercely attacked by the Indians. The rout was complete: unable

to form, or to offer any effectual resistance, the whites were driven off, leaving eleven of their number dead upon the field. As they again rendezvoused at Dixon's Ferry, thirty miles below, they gave the most extravagant accounts of the numbers of the enemy.

Great excitement was produced by this skirmish, and a large army of militia was called into service by Governor Reynolds, and ordered to meet by the 10th of June, at Hennepin, in Putnam county, on the Illinois. Agents were sent to confirm the good-will of the Winnebagos, and other tribes, and the services of several hundred of the Menomonies and Sioux were enlisted against the dangerous intruders.

Black-Hawk and his party, feeling themselves now fully committed, were not slow in following up the advantage gained by the terror inspired by the engagement at Sycamore Creek.

Between the breaking out of the war and the beginning of the month of August the Indians committed many murders, and various skirmishes took place between them and the troops sent in pursuit. On the 20th of May, a little settlement on Indian Creek was plundered. Fifteen of the inhabitants were killed, and two young girls, by the name of Hall, one sixteen and the other eighteen years of age, were carried into captivity. According to the almost universal custom of the North American Indians, these female prisoners were not exposed to the slightest insult or outrage, but were as well cared for as circumstances would allow. They were afterwards ransomed, at a large price, and returned to their friends.

Little mercy was shown to any of Black-Hawk's followers upon any occasion of success on the part of the whites. Five persons were killed near Galena on the 14th of June, and, shortly after, twelve Indians, supposed to be connected with the attacking party, were pursued and driven into a

neighboring swamp. When overtaken, although they made no resistance, they were every one killed and scalped by the whites.

The condition of Black-Hawk and his band grew daily more miserable, from destitution, exposure, and starvation. An end would speedily have been put to their operations, but for that terrible disease, the cholera, by which the United States troops, on their route from the east to the scene of action, were almost wholly disabled.

Driven from his encampment at the Four Lakes by the approach of General Atkinson, Black-Hawk retreated down the Wisconsin, expecting to find provisions and assistance among the Indians in that direction. General Dodge, with a strong force of militia, followed close on his trail. He came up with the fugitives on the 21st of July. The Indians were about crossing the river when they were attacked, and, but for the coming on of night, could hardly have escaped entire destruction or capture. They lost in the encounter not far from forty men.

The discomfited savages continued their flight down the river in their boats, beset on every side by enemies, and with an overwhelming force—Dodge's army having been joined by Atkinson and his troops in hot pursuit. "Some of the boats," says Drake, "conveying these poor wretches, were overset, and many of those in them drowned; the greater number, however, fell into the hands of their enemies in their passage. Many of the children were found to be in such a famished state that they could not be revived."

Having reached the mouth of the river, on the first of August, Black-Hawk prepared to cross the Mississippi, but was prevented by a force on board the steam-boat Warrior. He "did not wish to fight, but to escape; and when the steam-boat fell in with him, he used every means to give the captain of her to understand that he desired to surren-

der. He displayed two white flags, and about one hundred and fifty of his men approached the river without arms, and made signs of submission." The only reply was a discharge of canister and musketry from the boat, which was returned from the shore. After about an hour's firing, which resulted in the destruction of more than twenty of the Indians, the boat moved off to procure a supply of wood.

Next morning General Atkinson, with the whole force in pursuit, (sixteen hundred men) came up with the remnant of the enemy. Retreat was cut off on every side, and the half-starved and dispirited savages were shot and cut down at the pleasure of the irresistible numbers who surrounded them. The following is extracted from an account published shortly after this decisive and final engagement. "The battle lasted upwards of three hours. About fifty of the enemy's women and children were taken prisoners, and many, by accident, in the battle, were killed. When the Indians were driven to the bank of the Mississippi, some hundreds of men, women, and children, plunged into the river, and hoped, by diving, &c.. to escape the bullets of our guns; very few, however, escaped our sharp-shooters."

Historians generally speak of an action in which the Indians prove successful as a "massacre," but the above-described proceeding is dignified by the name of a battle! Black-Hawk, who, with a few followers, managed to effect his escape, afterwards declared that, upon the approach of the American army, he and his warriors made no attempt at resistance, offering to surrender themselves unconditionally, and that they only used their arms when it was apparent that the successful pursuers had no intention of showing quarter. It is hard to decide upon the true state of the case.

His cause now being palpably hopeless, and most of his

remaining warriors having yielded themselves prisoners, or been taken by the various bands of Indians friendly to the whites, Black-Hawk surrendered himself at Prairie du Chien, on the 27th of August. With several other chiefs he was taken to Washington, and after holding conference with President Jackson, was confined, for a period, at Fort Monroe, on an island near Old Point Comfort, on the Chesapeake. Here the captive warriors were well and kindly treated, and in June, of the ensuing year (1833), there being no longer any necessity for detaining them as hostages, they were set at liberty.

Before returning to the west, these chiefs visited several of the principal eastern cities, and were every where received with the greatest enthusiasm and interest. They were shown the fortifications, navy-yards, &c., and every effort was made to impress them with the irresistible power of the government. They were afterwards escorted back to their homes at the west, and dismissed with valuable presents and tokens of good-will.

Black-Hawk lived thenceforth in peace with the whites. He settled upon the Des Moines river, where he died in 1838. The body of the old warrior, in accordance with his own wishes, expressed shortly before his death, was disposed in Indian style. According to Drake: "No grave was made; but his body was placed in a sitting position, with his cane between his knees and grasped in his hands; slabs or rails were then piled up about him. Such was the end of Black-Hawk. Here, however, his bones did not long rest in peace, but they were stolen from their place of deposit some time in the following winter; but about a year after, it was discovered that they were in possession of a surgeon, of Quincy, Illinois, to whom some person had sent them to be wired together. When Governor Lucas, of Iowa, became acquainted with the facts, they were, by his requisition, restored to his friends."

INDIANS OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LOCATION, NUMBERS, CHARACTER, ETC., OF THE CATAWBAS; OF THE UPPER AND LOWER CHEROKEES; OF THE MUSCOGEES OR CREEKS; OF THE CHOCTAWS; OF THE CHICKASAWS—FRENCH WAR WITH THE NATCHEZ AND CHICKASAWS.

We shall not undertake to assign definite boundaries to the several tracts of country occupied by the extensive tribes of the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Catawbas, Uchees, &c., nor to pursue their history, separately. There are no sufficient distinctions in their general habits and character to render such a detail necessary, and as they were nearly all more or less affected by the same political events and changes, they can be best considered collectively. The name of Creeks, (an English term, taken from the character of the country they inhabited,) has been applied to all the tribes above mentioned.

James Adair, a trader and resident among the Southern Indians for forty years, in his History of the American Indians, published in 1775, gives the most complete account of these races to be found in the early writers. The principal portion of his book is devoted to a labored disquisition upon the origin of the red men, and arguments to prove their descent from the Jews: the rest consists of separate details of the manners and history of the southern tribes, with observations and anecdotes connected with the race in general.

He commences with the Catawbas, who then dwelt between the Carolinas and the country of the Cherokees. By intercourse with the whites, they had become more degraded than the other nations of which we are now to speak, and drunkenness, indolence, and poverty were obviously prevalent. They were a numerous and warlike people when South Carolina was first settled, mustering about fifteen hundred warriors; but small-pox and the use of ardent spirits had, at this time, reduced them to less than one-tenth of their former numbers.

They were old enemies of the Iroquois, with whom they had waged long and savage wars: with the English they had generally been upon good terms. Adair describes an old waste field, seven miles in extent, as one of the evidences of their former prosperity, when they could "cultivate so much land with their dull stone-axes." Of these, as of other Indians, he says: "By some fatality they are much addicted to excessive drinking; and spirituous liquors distract them so exceedingly, that they will even eat live coals of fire."

The Upper Cherokees inhabited the high and mountainous region of the Appalachian range, and that upon the upper portions of the Tennessee. The Lower tribe occupied the country around the head waters of the Savannah and Chatahoochee, to the northward of the Muscogees or Creeks proper. When Adair first became acquainted with the Cherokees, about the year 1735, they were computed by old traders to number six thousand fighting men. They had sixty-four populous towns. In 1738, nearly half of them perished by the small-pox.

Like all the other untaught nations of America, they were driven to perfect desperation by the ravages of this disease. The cause to which they ascribed it, and the strange remedies and enchantments used to stay its progress, are alike remarkable. One course was to plunge the

patients into cold running water—(it is elsewhere mentioned that those afflicted will frequently leap into the river themselves to allay the fever and torment)—the result of which operation was speedily fatal. "A great many killed themselves; for, being naturally proud, they are always peeping into their looking-glasses.—By which means, seeing themselves disfigured, without hope of regaining their former beauty, some shot themselves, others cut their throats, some stabbed themselves with knives, and others with sharp-pointed canes; many threw themselves with sullen madness into the fire, and there slowly expired, as if they had been utterly divested of the native power of feeling pain." One of them, when his friends had restrained these frantic efforts, and deprived him of his weapons, went out, and taking "a thick and round hoe-helve, fixed one end of it in the ground, and repeatedly threw himself on it till he forced it down his throat! when he immediately expired."

These tribes were formerly continually at war with the Six Nations, at the north, and with the Muscogees at the south; but previous to their war with the English colonies they had been for some time comparatively at peace, and were in a thriving and prosperous condition. They were excellently well supplied with horses, and were "skillful jockies, and nice in their choice."

The lower settlement of the Muscogees or Creeks, was in the country watered by the Chatahoochee and Flint; the upper Creeks dwelt about the head waters of the Mobile and Alabama rivers. Their neighbors, on the west, were the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

The Creeks were a nation formed by the union of a number of minor tribes with the Muscogees, who constituted the nucleus of the combination. About the middle of the eighteenth century, they were computed to number no less than three thousand five hundred men capable of

bearing arms. They had learned the necessity of secluding those infected with the small-pox, so as to avoid the spread of the contagion, and their general habits and usages were such that they were fast increasing, instead of diminishing, like all the surrounding tribes.

While the Floridas were in the possession of Spain, the Creeks were surrounded by belligerent powers, both native and European, and they appear to have adopted a very shrewd and artful policy in their intercourse with each. There was a French garrison in their country; the English settlements lay to the north and east, and those of the Spaniards to the south; and the old sages of the tribe "being long informed by the opposite parties of the different views and intrigues of those foreign powers, who paid them annual tribute under the vague appellation of presents, were become surprisingly crafty in every turn of low politics." The French were very successful in their efforts to conciliate the good-will of the Muscogees, and in alienating them from the English.

The country of the Choctaws extended from that of the Muscogees to the Mississippi, reaching northward to the boundaries of the Chickasaws: their lower towns on the river were about two hundred miles north of New Orleans. Adair gives these people a very bad character, as being treacherous, dishonest, ungrateful, and unscrupulous; but he bears witness to their admirable readiness of speech. They were "ready-witted, and endued with a surprising flow of smooth, artful language on every subject within the reach of their ideas."

The strange custom of flattening the head, prevalent among some other American tribes, obtained with the Choctaws. The operation was performed by the weight of a bag of sand kept upon the foreheads of the infants before the skull had hardened. This process not improbably affected the powers of the mind: at all events, Adair says:

"their features and mind exactly correspond together; for, except the intense love they bear to their native country, and their utter contempt of any kind of danger in defence of it, I know no other virtue they are possessed of: the general observation of the traders among them is just, who affirm them to be divested of every property of a human being, except shape and language."

The French had acquired great influence over the Choctaws, as, indeed, over nearly every tribe in North America with whom they had maintained friendly intercourse. Adair enlarges upon the artful policy with which they conciliated and bribed the leaders and orators of the nation. Besides this, he says: "the masterly skill of the French enabled them to do more with those savages, with trifles, than all our experienced managers of Indian affairs have been able to effect by the great quantities of valuable goods they gave them with a very profuse hand. The former bestowed their small favors with exquisite wisdom; and their value was exceedingly enhanced by the external kindly behavior and well-adapted smooth address of the giver."

The nation of the Chickasaws, at the time of which we are speaking, was settled near the sources of the Tombigbee, a few miles eastward of the head waters of the Tallahache. They numbered about four hundred and fifty warriors, but were greatly reduced since their ancient emigration from the west. They were said to have formerly constituted one family with the Choctaws, and to have been able to bring one thousand men into the field at the time of their removal. Due allowance must of course be made for mistake and exaggeration in these early traditions.

The Chickasaws were ever inimical to the French and friendly to the English colonists. It was by their efforts that the neighboring tribe of the Natchez was stirred up to attack the French settlements, in 1729. The French

had, unadvisedly, imposed a species of tax upon the Natchez, demanding a dressed buck-skin from each man of the tribe, without rendering any return; but, as some of that people afterwards reported to Adair, "the warriors' hearts grew very cross, and loved the deer-skins."

The Chickasaws were not slow to foment a disturbance upon intelligence of this proceeding, and sent messengers, with presents of pipes and tobacco, to counsel an attack upon the exercisers of such tyranny. Nothing so strongly excites an Indian's indignation as any attempt at taxation, and the Natchez were easily persuaded that the French had resolved to crush and enslave them. It took about a year to ripen the plot, as the Indians are "slow in their councils on things of great importance, though equally close and intent."

It was in the month of November, (1729,) that the Indians fell upon the French settlement. The commandant had received some intimation of the intended attack from a woman of the tribe, but did not place sufficient dependence upon it to take any efficient steps for the protection of his charge. The whole colony was massacred: men, women and children, to the number of over seven hundred—Adair says fifteen hundred—perished by the weapons of the savages. The triumph of the Natchez was, however, but of short duration. The French came upon them in the following summer with a large army, consisting of two thousand of their own soldiers and a great array of their Choctaw allies. The Natchez were posted at a strong fort near a lake communicating with the Bayou D'Argent, and received the assailants with great resolution and courage. They made a vigorous sally, as the enemy approached, but were driven within their defences, and "bombarded with three mortars, which forced them to fly off different ways." The Choctaws took many prisoners, some of whom were tortured to death, and the rest shipped to the West Indies as slaves.

The remnant of the Natchez fled for safety to the Chickasaws. This brought about a war between the French and the last-mentioned tribe, in which, if we may believe Adair, the Indians had decidedly the advantage. He tells of one engagement, in which the French and their Indian allies had surrounded the Chickasaw settlements in the night, with the exception of one, which stood at some distance from the rest, called Amalahta. The besiegers beset every house, and killed all who came out: "but at the dawn of day, when they were capering and using those flourishes that are peculiar to that volatile nation, the other town drew round them, stark naked, and painted all over red and black; thus they attacked them, killed numbers on the spot, released their brethren, who joined them like enraged lions." The Indians belonging to the French party fled, but the whites were all killed except two, "an officer, and a negroe, who faithfully held his horse till he mounted, and then ran along side of him. A couple of swift runners were sent after them, who soon came up with them, and told them to live and go home, and inform their people, that as the Chickasah hogs had now a plenty of ugly French carcases to feed on till next year, they hoped then to have another visit from them and their red friends; and that, as messengers, they wished them safe home."

On another occasion, the same historian informs us that the French approached the Chickasaw stockade, strangely disguised, and protected from the balls of the enemy by paddings of wool. The Indians were to the last degree astonished both at their appearance and invulnerability, and were about to desist from active resistance, and resort to the skill of their own necromancers to oppose what they thought must be "wizards, or old French-men carrying the ark of war against them." As the enemy approached, and began to throw hand-grenades into the fort,

they were quickly undeceived, and set in earnest about the work of defence. They pulled the matches out of the grenades, or threw them back among the French; and, sallying forth, directed an effective fire at the legs of the enemy, who were speedily driven off. "I have two of these shells," says Adair, "which I keep with veneration, as speaking trophies over the boasting Monsieurs and their bloody schemes."

CHAPTER II.

COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA—EARLY INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES—TOMOCHICHI—INTRIGUES OF THE REVEREND THOMAS BOSOMWORTH—CHEROKEE WAR OF 1759—ATTAKULLAKULLA AND OCCONOSTOTA—MURDER OF INDIAN HOSTAGES—COLONEL MONTGOMERY'S EXPEDITION—DESTRUCTION OF THE EASTERN CHEROKEE TOWNS—BATTLE NEAR ETCHOE—CAPITULATION AT FORT LOUDON—INDIAN TREACHERY—CAMPAIGN OF COLONEL GRANT, AND COMPLETE REDUCTION OF THE CHEROKEES.

When the little colony of one hundred and fourteen souls, under the guidance of James Edward Oglethorpe, commenced the settlement of Georgia, in the winter of 1733, the upper and lower Creeks laid claim to the whole territory south-west of the Savannah. The only natives residing in the vicinity—at Yamacraw—were peaceably disposed towards the settlers, but the governor of the infant colony thought it advisable to put himself upon safe grounds as respected the Indian claims. He therefore secured the services of a half-breed woman, named Mary Musgrove, who could speak English, and, by her mediation, brought about a conference with the chiefs of the tribe at Savannah, the seat of the new settlement.

Mary had formerly married a white trader from Carolina. Besides her usefulness as an interpreter, she had such influence over her tribe, that Oglethorpe thought it worth his while to purchase her services at the rate of one hundred pounds a year. She became afterwards, as we shall see, a source of no little danger and annoyance to the English.

Fifty chiefs of the Creek nation were assembled at the place of conference, and Tomochichi, the most noted among those then known to the settlers, made an amicable speech, proffering at the same time a present of a buffalo-skin, adorned with eagles' feathers. A treaty was concluded, subject to the ratification of the English crown, by virtue of which the Indians were to consider themselves the subjects of the king, and to live in peace and friendship with his white colonists. The lands lying between the Savannah and Altamaha, were made over to the English, with all the islands on that coast, except St. Catharine's and two others, which were reserved for the use of the Indians as bathing and fishing stations. A tract was also set apart for them to encamp upon when they visited their white friends, a little above the Yamacraw bluff, where Savannah now stands. Various other stipulations, respecting terms of trade, the punishment of offences, &c., were entered into, to the satisfaction of both parties.

In April, 1734, Oglethorpe took Tomochichi, his queen, and several other Indians with him to England. They were presented to the king, and every pains was taken to produce a strong impression upon their minds of the English power and magnificence. All the Indians with whom the first governor of Georgia held intercourse seem to have formed a great attachment for him, styling him their "beloved man." If others in authority among the English colonies had pursued as honest a course towards the natives, much bloodshed would doubtless have been averted.

When difficulties arose in 1738, connected with the conflicting claims of England and Spain to jurisdiction over the new country, Spanish agents were dispatched to win over the Creeks. They decoyed a body of them to Augustine, by pretences that Oglethorpe was there, and that he was desirous of seeing them. On their arrival, the Indians were told that the English governor was sick on board one of the ships; but they had begun to suspect deception, and, refusing to go out to the vessel, left the town in great disgust. Their suspicions were confirmed when they reached home, and the transaction only strengthened their dislike to the Spaniards.

In the following year, Oglethorpe attended a great assembly of Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, at the Coweta town, several hundred miles from Frederica, and confirmed their good-will towards the English by presents, and friendly communion. He smoked the calumet with the chiefs, and solemnly renewed the original treaty of amity and mutual protection. This year old Tomochichi died, not far from Yamacraw, expressing to the last his love for his first English patron, and urging upon his people the policy of maintaining their place in his good-will. The chief was nearly ninety-seven years of age.

The year 1749 was memorable for a most audacious attempt on the part of one Thomas Bosomworth to aggrandize himself by attaining a supremacy over the Creeks. He had been formerly a chaplain in Oglethorpe's regiment, and had married Mary Musgrove, his half-breed interpreter. In December, of 1747, this man fell in with a company of chiefs, belonging to the nation, then on a visit to Frederica; and persuaded them to sign certain articles, acknowledging one of their number, named Malatche Opiya Meco, as rightful king over the whole Creek nation Bosomworth then procured from Malatche a conveyance, for certain considerations—among other things, a large



THE EAGLE.

This noble bird, various species of which are found in America, was considered by the Indians, no less than by our own poets and writers, a fitting type of swiftness, strength, and proud superiority. His feathers constituted a kingly ornament, and were held worthy gifts at the ratification of important treaties. The old chief Tomochichi, when introduced to King George II., profferred several eagles' feathers to the monarch, with the remark: "These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and who flieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and we have brought them over to leave them with you, great king, as a sign of everlasting peace."



INDIAN SETTLEMENT.

quantity of ammunition and clothing,—of the islands formerly reserved by the Indians, to himself and his wife Mary, their heirs and assigns, "as long as the sun shall shine, or the waters run in the rivers, forever." This deed was regularly witnessed, proved before a justice of the peace, and recorded in due form. Bosomworth made some efforts to stock and improve these islands, but, his ambition becoming aroused by success in his first intrigue, he entered upon one much more extensive. By his persuasions, his wife now made the extraordinary claim that she was Malatche's elder sister, and entitled to regal authority over the whole Creek territory.

A great meeting of the tribe was procured, and, whatever of truth Mary's claims might be founded upon, she appears to have succeeded in persuading large numbers of the Creeks to espouse her cause, and acknowledge her as an independent queen. Accompanied by a strong force of her adherents, she proceeded incontinently to Savannah, sending emissaries before her to demand a surrender of all lands south of the Savannah river, and to make known her intention of enforcing her claim by the entire destruction of the colony, should her demands be resisted.

The militia were called out by the president and council, and the Indians were kept quiet by a display of confidence and firmness, that matters might be fully discussed by their leaders and the colonial authorities. "Bosomworth," says McCall, "in his canonical robes, with his queen by his side, followed by the kings and chiefs, according to rank, marched into the town on the 20th of July, making a most formidable appearance.—The inhabitants were struck with terror at the sight of this ferocious tribe of savages."

Lengthy discussions ensued, between Bosomworth and Mary on the one hand, and the president and council on the other. The fickle and impressible savages leaned

alternately to either opinion according as they were harangued by their new leaders, or listened to the explanations of the other party. They were told that Mary's claims to royal descent were entirely false; that she was the daughter of a white man by a squaw of no note, and that the mad ambition of her reprobate husband had led to the whole movement. They expressed themselves convinced, but no sooner had Mary obtained another opportunity to communicate with them, than she succeeded in inflaming and bewildering their minds. It was found necessary to confine her and her husband before the savages could be quietly dispersed.

Before this was accomplished, the town was in a situation of the most imminent danger, as the Indians vastly outnumbered the whites; and a very slight matter might have so roused their fury that the whole colony would have been annihilated. The intriguing chaplain had a brother, Adam Bosomworth, agent for Indian affairs in Carolina, who afterwards espoused his interests, so far as the claim to the islands of St. Catharine, Ossabaw, and Sapelo was concerned. This coadjutor visited the Creek nation, procured a new conveyance, and prosecuted the claim before the courts of Great Britain. The case proved almost as tedious and complex as that of the celebrated Mohegan land question in Connecticut. Bosomworth and his wife obtained a decision in their favor, in 1759, by virtue of which they took possession of St. Catharine's island, and resided upon it the remainder of their lives. Ossabaw and Sapelo were decreed to be sold for the benefit of the successful parties, but further litigation arose from the claims of one Isaac Levy, to whom they had sold, as was asserted, a moiety of that portion of the grant.

The breaking out of the Cherokee war, in the winter of this year, (1759,) is the next event of special interest, connected with the affairs of the Southern Indians. They

seen generally to have been peaceably disposed, and honest in the fulfillment of their national engagements, and probably would have continued so, had they met with fair treatment at the hands of the English colonists. Parties of Cherokees, under British commanders, had been engaged with the English in campaigns against the French fortifications at the west. Upon the evacuation of Fort Duquesne, numbers of these Indian warriors, whose services were no longer required, set out upon their return home. Having been ill-supplied with provisions, and having lost their horses, some of them caught and availed themselves of such of those animals as they found loose in the woods. In revenge for this theft, the German settlers of Virginia fell upon them, and murdered and scalped a considerable number. They even imitated, in several instances, the horrible cruelties of the savages in the manner of butchery—at least, so says Adair, who further reports, that "those murderers were so audacious as to impose the scalps on the government for those of French Indians; and that they actually obtained the premium allowed at that time by law in such a case."

The Cherokees did not, for a long time, attempt any retaliation for this act, but made peaceable applications to the authorities of Virginia and the Carolinas; but all was in vain, and fresh insults and injuries, received from certain officers at Fort St. George, finally excited the nation to fury. Adair says truly: "When the Indians find no redress of grievances, they never fail to redress themselves, either sooner or later. But when they begin, they do not know where to end. Their thirst for the blood of their reputed enemies is not to be quenched with a few drops. The more they drink, the more it inflames their thirst. When they dip their finger in human blood, they are restless till they plunge themselves in it."

The French, and, at their instance, the Muscogees, were

not slow in availing themselves of the above circumstances to stir up a war against the English. The Cherokees determined upon direct retaliation for the massacres by the Germans. A party, bound on this errand, first killed two soldiers near Fort Loudon, on the south bank of Tennessee river, and afterwards spread themselves among the western settlements of North Carolina, killing such of the whites as fell in their power. It was their first intention to take scalps only equal in number to that of their murdered kinsmen, but, once having their hand in, they could not resist the temptation of going much farther. "Soon after they returned home, they killed a reprobate old trader."

The young warriors, now thoroughly roused and excited, would listen to no proposals of restraint: "Nothing but war-songs and war-dances could please them, during this flattering period of becoming great warriors, 'by killing swarms of white dung-hill fowls, in the corn-fields, and asleep,' according to their war-phrase."

William H. Lyttleton, governor of South Carolina, set himself strenuously both to prepare for the defence of the colonies, and to bring about an adjustment of difficulties. At Fort St. George, on the Savannah, he held a conference with six Cherokee chiefs, on the 26th of December (1759), and formed a treaty of peace, secured by the delivery of thirty-two Indian hostages. These were placed in close confinement in a small and miserable hut, and the governor returned to Charleston.

According to the usual course of events, the Cherokees denied the authority of the chiefs who had concluded the above treaty, and hostilities broke out afresh. The two most celebrated chiefs and leaders among them, at this time, were old Attakullakulla, a promoter of peace, and long the fast friend of the English, and Occonostota, a noted war-chief. Captain Coytmore, commandant at Fort

George, was an object of the bitterest hatred on the part of the Indians, and a large body of them, led by Occonostota, besieged the fort in February of 1760.

The place was too strong to be taken by assault, but the Indian chief managed to entice Coytmore out of the defences into an ambush, where he was shot dead, and lieutenants Bell and Foster, who accompanied him, were wounded. The hostages who were confined within the works, shouted to encourage their friends without, and when an attempt was made to put them in irons, resisted manfully, stabbing one soldier, and wounding two others. Upon this, a hole was cut in the roof over their heads, and the cowardly garrison butchered them by shooting down from above.

This war now commenced in earnest, and Indian ravages extended far and wide upon the frontier. Troops were ordered from New York by General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America; and the neighboring colonies appropriated liberal sums for the purpose of buying the aid of the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Catawbas.

Colonel Montgomery reached Carolina in April, (1760,) and hastened, in command of the regulars and provincials, to make an effective inroad upon the hostile Indians. His progress through the lower Cherokee country was marked by the entire destruction of the Indian towns. The first place attacked, called Keowee, was surrounded, and the men of the town were put to the sword. Estatoe, containing two hundred houses, with great quantities of provisions, was entirely destroyed; but the inhabitants were saved by a timely flight. "Every other settlement east of the Blue Ridge," says McCall, "afterwards shared the same fate."

The army made some stay at Fort Prince George, and useless endeavors were put forth to bring about a pacification with the upper portion of the Cherokees. In the

month of June the troops were again on their advance into the wilderness of the interior. Near the Indian town of Etchoe, the native warriors prepared a most skillful ambuscade to check the advancing forces. It was in a deep valley, through which ran a muddy stream, with steep banks; on either side of which the way was completely choked with tangled brushwood. Some hard fighting took place at this spot, in which twenty of the whites were killed and seventy-six wounded. The loss on the side of the Indians was much less, and, although driven from the spot where the first stand was made, they intrenched themselves a little farther on. Under these circumstances, Montgomery determined to secure the safety of his troops, and to provide for the requisite attention to his wounded men, by a retreat. He soon after sailed for New York, leaving four companies of regulars, under Major Hamilton, for the protection of the frontier.

The garrison at the isolated Fort Loudon was now in a state of imminent peril. The provisions of the place were nearly exhausted, and the redoubtable Occonostota was laying close siege to it with his fierce and enraged warriors. After suffering great extremes of privation, and experiencing disappointment in all their hopes of relief, the two hundred men stationed at this place were obliged to capitulate, and trust to the honor of their savage enemy. Captain Steuart, an officer greatly in favor with all the friendly Indians, arranged the terms upon which the fort should be evacuated. The troops were to be allowed a free and unmolested passage to Virginia, or Fort Prince George, and a detachment of Indians was to accompany them for the purpose of supplying provisions by hunting.

The garrison marched out on the 7th of August (1760). Occonostota himself, with a number of other natives, kept company with the whites, during the first day's march of fifteen miles; but these all disappeared when they reached

the place of encampment, near an Indian town called Taliquo. On the next morning, just before day, (the time generally selected by Indians for a surprise, as men sleep more soundly then than at any other hour,) a large body of armed savages, in war-paint, were seen by a sentinel, creeping through the bushes, and gathering about the camp. Hardly was the alarm given when the attack was made: twenty-six of the feeble and half-starved soldiers were killed outright, and the rest were pinioned and marched back to the fort.

Captain Steuart was among the prisoners, but his evil fortune was alleviated by the staunch friendship of the benevolent Atakullakulla. This chief, as soon as he heard of Steuart's situation, hastened to Fort Loudon, and purchased him of the Indian who took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all that he could command by way of ransom: he then took possession of Captain Demere's house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and humanely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until an opportunity should offer of rescuing him."

A quantity of ammunition was discovered by the Indians, buried in the fort, and Occonostota determined to proceed at once to lay siege to Fort Prince George. Captain Steuart was informed that the assistance of himself and his men would be required in the management of the great guns, and that, furthermore, if the garrison should refuse to capitulate, all the prisoners now in the hands of the Indians should, one by one, be burned in sight of the fort. Perceiving the difficulty of his situation, the captain begged his kind old proprietor to assist him in effecting an escape, and Attakullakulla readily lent his aid. Upon pretence of taking his prisoner out for a hunt, he left Fort Loudon, with his wife and brother, and two English soldiers, and took a direct course for the Virginia frontier. After a most toilsome and dangerous march, they fell in with a

party of three hundred men, sent out for the relief of such of the garrison at Fort Loudon as might have effected their escape. Being now in safety, Captain Steuart dismissed his Indian friends with handsome rewards, to return and attend to the welfare of his former fellow-prisoners. Such of them as had survived were afterwards ransomed and delivered up at Fort Prince George.

This post was immediately supplied with provisions in anticipation of the siege; and care was taken, through the mediation of Attakullakulla, to impress the Cherokees with the idea that it was totally impregnable.

Matters appeared now to be, in some manner, at rest; but the majority of the Cherokee nation remained thoroughly inimical, and emissaries from the French colonies were busy in their midst. A French officer, of the name of Latinac, was especially successful in rousing up their hostile feelings. As an instance of his style of proceeding, it is related that, at a great conclave of the tribe, he stepped out, and drove his hatchet into a log, calling out: "'Who is the man that will take this up for 'the king of France?' Saloué, a young warrior of Estatoe, laid hold of it, and cried out, 'I am for war! the spirits of our brothers who have been slain still call upon us to revenge their death—he is no better than a woman who refuses to follow me.'"

In the following spring, Colonel James Grant, who had succeeded to the command of the Highlanders employed in British service in America, commenced active operations against the belligerent nation. What with the aid of the provincials and friendly Indians, he was at the head of about twenty-six hundred men. The Chickasaws and Catawbas lent some assistance to the English; but the Creeks are said to have alternately inclined to the French or English, according as they received or hoped for favors and presents.

The army reached Fort Prince George on the 27th of May, (1761,) and there old Attakullakulla made his appearance, deprecating the proposed vengeance of the whites upon his people. He was told that the English still felt the strongest regard for him individually, but that the ill-will and misconduct of the majority of the nation were too palpable and gross to be suffered to go longer unpunished. Colonel Grant marched from the fort in the month of June, and advanced nearly to the spot where Montgomery's progress had been arrested, before coming to an engagement. Here the Cherokees, on the 10th, made a desperate but unavailing stand; they were routed and dispersed, leaving their towns and villages of the interior to be destroyed by the invaders. Etchoe was burned on the day following the battle; and, according to McCall, "all the other towns in the middle settlement, fourteen in number, shared the same fate: the corn, cattle, and other stores of the enemy, were likewise destroyed, and those miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek shelter and subsistence among the barren mountains."

Upon the return of the army to Fort Prince George, after this campaign, Attakullakulla again visited the camp, bringing with him a number of other Cherokee chiefs. Broken down by their disastrous losses, and disgusted with the deceitful promises of the French, they gladly acceded to such terms as Colonel Grant thought fit to impose, and a treaty of peace was formally concluded.

CHAPTER III.

CAPTAIN STEUART'S AGENCY—DISTURBANCE IN 1767—VISIT OF TECUMSEH TO THE SOUTHERN TRIBES—WEATHERFORD—SACK OF FORT MIMMS—WAR OF 1813—GENERAL JACKSON'S CAMPAIGN—BATTLES ON THE TALLUSAHATCHEE; AT TALLADEGA, AUTOSSEE, ETC.—THE HALLIBEES—DEFEAT OF THE INDIANS AT HORSE-SHOE BEND—END OF THE WAR.

In the year 1762, it was thought advisable by the English government to appoint a general agent and superintendent of Indian affairs at the south. Partly through the earnest intervention of Attakullakulla, but especially because of his known sagacity and influence over the native tribes, this office was conferred upon Captain John Steuart. Upon entering on the duties of his appointment, he called a great council of deputies, from all the southern tribes, at Mobile. Addressing the assembled chiefs in their own style of oratory, he explained to them the relations then existing between France and England, impressing upon them the idea that all residing east of the Mississippi, must now look to the English for supplies and protection. He directed his harangue to the several nations in separate succession, promising entire amnesty to all who had taken up the hatchet in behalf of the French; commending those who had remained faithful to the English; and excusing those who had sided with the enemy, as the victims of deception.

It was proposed to adopt, at this time, a more just and equable policy towards the Indians than had heretofore been used, and to take the necessary steps to secure them against the deception of unprincipled speculators. Affairs, accordingly, looked peaceful and prosperous for some years. The natives made over a large additional tract of

land to the growing colony of Georgia, to be sold, and the avails applied to the discharge of the heavy debts they had incurred for supplies of ammunition, clothing, &c. The following circumstance sufficiently evinces the policy of mild measures towards the Indians: In 1767, the whites having made encroachments upon the Indian lands, some of the Creek warriors began to retaliate by stealing horses which they found upon their own territory. A party of them also attacked a store at Trader's Hill, on the St. Mary's, belonging to one Lemmons, and after plundering it of its contents, burned the buildings. Some of the whites pursued these marauders; recovered the stolen horses; laid hands upon what valuable goods they could discover, and destroyed the villages of the offenders. Far less important affairs have often led to long and bloody wars with the natives; but, in this instance, Governor Wright, at Savannah, restored perfect quiet by decreeing mutual restorations and compensation.

No events of very striking interest connected with the Indians of the Southern States, call for our attention from this period to that of the wars with the western tribes in the early part of the present century. Until they became, to a certain extent, involved in those hostilities, they remained in comparative peace with the American whites. After the termination of the revolutionary war, and the establishment of the independence of the United States, the intrigues of opposing parties no longer operated to foment disturbance, or to tempt the unfortunate savages to engage in quarrels where they had nothing to gain, and which ever resulted in their final discomfiture.

By a steady increase of numbers, and the adventurous spirit of pioneers, the white settlers every where made advances upon the Indian territory. Sometimes large acquisitions would be made by a government purchase; but, to no small extent, the opinion that the occupation of a

few roving savages could give no natural title to lands, as opposed to the claims of those who had reclaimed, inclosed, and improved the wilderness, satisfied the consciences of the encroachers. The argument in favor of this conclusion is by no means without force; but who can take upon himself to draw the line of demarkation which shall decide, upon any principle of universal application, the bounds of so artificial a right as the ownership of land?

In the autumn of 1811, the great Shawanee chief Tecumseh, in pursuance of his bold and extensive plans for a universal association of the Indians against the whites, made a tour among the southern tribes. His eloquent appeals, and the overpowering energy which distinguished this truly great man, proved successful in the winning over to his views of no small number of the Indian warriors, even among those who had long maintained a friendly intercourse with the Americans and the government of the United States.

At the time of the declaration of war with England, (June 18th, 1812,) the whole western border of the United States was in a position of the greatest danger and insecurity. The machinations of Tecumseh and the Prophet had roused an extensive flame of vindictive ferocity throughout the Indian nations, while British agents, it is said, were widely dispersed, and, by munificent promises and artful persuasions, had still farther widened the breach between the savages and their white countrymen. Frightful scenes of depredation and murder called for a prompt and decisive check. Many minor forays are recorded, but the destruction of Fort Mimms in the Tensau settlement of Mississippi, in the summer of the year following, may be considered the first important part taken by the southern tribes in the wars of this period. We shall not undertake, in our brief account of the Indian campaign of 1813, to keep up a distinction between the different tribes of

Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, &c., who were drawn into hostilities.

Prominent among the chiefs and leaders of the southern confederacy, was the celebrated Weatherford. His mother was said to have been a Seminole, but he was born among the Creeks. He was, beyond question, possessed of many noble and commanding qualities, but these were combined with cruelty, avarice, and degrading vices. A party of about one thousand warriors, led by this popular chief, fell upon the devoted Fort Mimms, on the 30th of August, 1813. The post was garrisoned by one hundred and sixty efficient soldiers; the rest of its occupants, to the number of one hundred and fifteen, consisted of old men, women and children. The forces were under the command of Major Beasly. No regular preparations had been made for the reception of so powerful an enemy, and although the soldiers did their duty manfully, they were overpowered, and all slain except seventeen. The women and children having ensconced themselves in several block houses, met with a more terrible fate. The savages set fire to the buildings, and consumed them, together with their inmates.

The settlers inhabiting exposed districts were now obliged to fly for safety to places of protection, and the hostile hordes of Indians were collecting their warriors for further inroads upon the frontier. To resist them, a large force was called into requisition in Tennessee, and the command bestowed upon General Andrew Jackson. Colonel Coffee, at the head of a considerable body of troops, and such volunteers as could be immediately collected, hastened forward to defend the country in the vicinity of Huntsville. General Jackson, although disabled at this time, by a broken arm, determined to take the field in person, and pushed on the necessary preparations with all that zeal and energy which marked his character through life.

News was brought by some runners from the establishment of the friendly old Creek chief Chinnaby, that the enemy was approaching Huntsville, or Fort Hampton, in full force. The report was erroneous, but, as other rumors seemed, at the time, to confirm it, the general hurried his army on to relieve the post. This was on the 10th of October (1813). From Huntsville, Jackson, with his forces, crossed the Tennessee, and joined Colonel Coffee, who was posted upon a high bluff on the south bank of the river.

From this place, Colonel Coffee was dispatched, with seven hundred men, to beat up the enemies' quarters on the Black Warrior river, while the commander of the army turned all his attention to securing some supplies of provision for his famishing troops. Encamped in the enemies' country, whither they had arrived by forced marches, the troops were necessarily exposed to great hardship and want. While awaiting supplies at this encampment, General Jackson had an interview with Shelocta, a son of Chinnaby, who had come to request assistance for his father and friends, blockaded in their fort by the hostile Creeks. He said that a considerable force of the enemy was now in the vicinity of the Ten Islands, on the Coosa.

The news was confirmed by other messengers, and the commander proceeded towards the Coosa, to protect his Indian allies, notwithstanding the straits to which his men were reduced from want of provisions. The troops reached the Islands without encountering an enemy. On the route, Colonel Dyer was detached, with two hundred mounted men to fall upon Littafutchee, at the head of Canoe Creek, a western tributary of the Coosa. He accomplished the service, destroyed the town, and brought back to the camp twenty-nine prisoners.

While encamped at the Ten Islands, the general ascertained the real rendezvous of the enemy to be upon the

Tallussahatchee Creek, emptying into the Coosa about thirteen miles below the encampment. Colonel Coffee, with nine hundred men, was promptly ordered upon the duty of engaging them. He forded the Coosa at the Fish-Dams, and, approaching the Indian camp, so disposed his forces as to partially surround it, while several companies, under Captain Hammond and Lieutenant Patterson, were marched in to beat up the enemies' quarters. The savages fought boldly and desperately, but were overpowered and driven into their buildings, where one hundred and eighty-six of their number perished, fighting hand to hand. Eighty-four women and children were taken prisoners, and a number were killed, as is said, by accident, during the melee. This battle was fought on the 3d of November (1813).

A species of fortification was now prepared at the islands, and named Fort Strother. On the 7th of the month, information was received that the enemy was collecting in force to attack Talladega,—a post about thirty miles below, occupied by friendly Indians,—and General Jackson, with nearly his whole army, consisting of twelve hundred infantry and eight hundred mounted men, hastened to its relief. The baggage, the sick, and the wounded, were left, under a guard of protection, at Fort Strother.

The river was forded by the mounted men, each carrying one of the infantry behind him, a process which was continued till the whole army was safely landed on the opposite shore. It was about midnight when the march commenced, and on the evening of the ensuing day, a spot only six miles from Talladega was reached. By four o'clock, on the following morning, the troops were again in motion; and, acting upon intelligence obtained by reconnoitering during the night, General Jackson was enabled so to dispose his troops as partially to surround the camp before the action commenced. It is unnecessary to

give the details of this battle. The Indians displayed both courage and firmness, and by the impetuosity of their attack, broke through the line of the advancing forces at a point occupied by General Roberts' brigade. They were driven in again by a body of reserved troops, but succeeded in making their escape to the mountains, three miles distant, through an opening left by some miscalculation in the direction of the Americans' advance. "In this battle," according to Cobbett, "the force of the enemy was one thousand and eighty, of whom two hundred and ninety-nine were left dead on the ground; and it is believed that many were killed in the flight, who were not found when the estimate was made. Their loss, on this occasion, as stated since by themselves, was not less than six hundred: that of the Americans was fifteen killed and eighty wounded, several of whom afterwards died."

The friendly Indians, who had been besieged in their fort at this place, deprived even of water, expressed the liveliest gratitude and exultation at their release. The fatigue, exposure, and want which the army were compelled to undergo, now began to arouse a spirit of discontent and mutiny. Few men have ever possessed that self-devotion and noble spirit of endurance, combined with an inflexibility of purpose never surpassed, which enabled Jackson to quell the disturbances which arose, and to preserve the forces under his charge in a condition for active and useful service.

After the battle at Talladega, the Hallibee Indians, who were largely concerned in that transaction, sued for peace. They were told by the American general that this should be accorded, upon condition of the restoration of plundered property, and the delivering up of those who had taken part in the massacre at Fort Mimms. Unfortunately, while these negotiations were pending, General White, acting under orders independent of General Jackson, at-



Gen. JACKSON

tacked the towns of these Indians, destroyed many of their warriors, and carried off several hundred captives. Supposing that this was by Jackson's orders, they expected no further favor, and fought thereafter with the desperation of men to whom no quarter was to be given.

The result of this Indian campaign was the entire reduction of the hostile nations. We need not recount the various battles in which they were defeated and destroyed. The most noted of these were at Autossee, where some two hundred were massacred, on the 29th of November, and that of the great bend in the Tallapoosie, known as Horse-Shoe Bend. At this latter point, the Indians fortified themselves for a last and desperate stand.



They were supposed to be about one thousand in number, and had been, for some time, strengthening their position by every means within their reach. This was in the month of March, 1814. On the 27th, General Jackson, with a force of whites and friendly Indians, three times the number of the enemy, commenced operations against the fort. General Coffee, with most of the cavalry and Indian allies, was directed to surround the bend, in order to cut off all retreat across the river. The place was then carried by storm, under a heavy fire from within. More than half the Indians were killed at the fort, and an unknown number perished in their endeavors to escape by crossing the river, beset as it was by the assailants. Some have asserted that probably not more than twenty ever reached a place of safety. At a time when it was evident that the fortune of the day was decided, General Jackson sent a messenger, with a flag of truce, to invite a surrender, but, from ignorance or desperation, the savages fired upon the bearer of the flag. After this, no mercy was shown: until night put an end to the work of destruction, they were shot or cut down wherever they could be found, and even on the following morning, a considerable number were

ferreted out from the "caves and reeds," where they had sought concealment, and remorselessly put to death. Several hundred women and children were made captives. The loss of the attacking army, in this battle, was fifty-five killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded.

In the ensuing month, (April,) General Jackson having effected a junction with the troops from Georgia, under Colonel Milton, received a deputation from the principal hostile tribes, expressing a wish for peace. The general demanded, as one condition upon which he would treat, and as a test of the sincerity of the proposal, that the great but notorious Weatherford should be delivered up for punishment. This chief, hearing of the requisition, and hopeless of further success in resistance, came voluntarily to the American camp, and presenting himself before the commander, with characteristic dignity and composure, requested peace for his people, and announced his own submission to his fate, whatever it might be.

His speech on this occasion is given as follows: "I am in your power—do with me as you please—I am a soldier. I have done the whites all the harm I could. I have fought them, and fought them bravely. If I had an army, I would yet fight—I would contend to the last: but I have none. My people are all gone. I can only weep over the misfortunes of my nation."

On being told that he was still at liberty to depart, and that no favor would be shown to him or his nation unless they should submit to whatever terms the whites should see fit to impose, he replied: "You can safely address me in such terms now. There was a time when I could have answered you—there was a time when I had a choice—I have none now. I have not even a hope. I could once animate my warriors to battle; but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice. Their bones are at Talladega, Tallusshatchee, Emuckfaw, and To-

hopeka. * * * * You are a brave man; I rely upon your generosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people but such as they should accede to."

This was the last important incident of the campaign. The Indians submitted to the dictation of the whites, and retired to the districts assigned them, eastward of the Coosa.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REMOVAL OF THE CHEROKEES WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI—PRESENT LOCATION AND CONDITION OF THE OTHER TRIBES OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

"Bearing a people with all its household Gods into exile,
Exile without an end, and without an example in story.—"

LONGFELLOW.

BUT a few years have passed since the Cherokees were in the peaceful occupation of an immense and fertile territory in the northern part of Georgia. They numbered not far from eighteen thousand, and were increasing in a ratio which attested their power of self-support and improvement. They had made advances far beyond most of their red brethren in the arts of agriculture and manufactures. A system of legislation adapted to their capacities and wants had been established, and, generally speaking, the nation exhibited a praiseworthy spectacle of sobriety, industry, and good order. They were in possession of about eight millions of acres of land, and their ability and inclination to cultivate it, may appear from the statistics of their stock and agricultural implements. In 1826, they were the owners of seven thousand six hundred horses, twenty-two thousand cattle, forty-six thousand swine, and two thousand five hundred sheep. There were in use

among them two thousand nine hundred and forty-three ploughs, and one hundred and seventy-two wagons. They occupied their territory under the treaties entered into, and within the bounds assigned at the negotiations between the confederate states and the Indian tribes of the south, at the close of the revolutionary war.

In the year 1802, when the long-vexed question of the boundaries of the state of Georgia was finally settled, the United States stipulated to extinguish the title of the Cherokees to the lands then in their possession, "as early as the same could be peaceably obtained, upon reasonable terms."

As the states of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi increased in power and population, they became more and more impatient of the existence of self-governing and independent tribes within their boundaries, and began to exert a control over them in some instances exceedingly unjust and oppressive. Strong efforts were made to induce an emigration of these Indians to the west, which were in some measure successful, and, prior to 1829, a cession or sale of a very large district had been obtained from the Cherokees. The members of this tribe, naturally attached to the beautiful country in which they had passed their lives, finally determined to retain possession of what remained of their lands, and to allow of no further sales to whites.

In December, of the above year, the state of Georgia passed a series of acts which justly aroused the fears and indignation of the Indians, and excited a feeling of sympathy in their behalf, as powerful as extensive. The laws of the state were declared to be in full force over all the Aborigines within its limits; the regulations and provisions of the Cherokee council were declared invalid and void; heavy penalties (amounting to years of imprisonment at hard labor) were awarded against any Cherokee

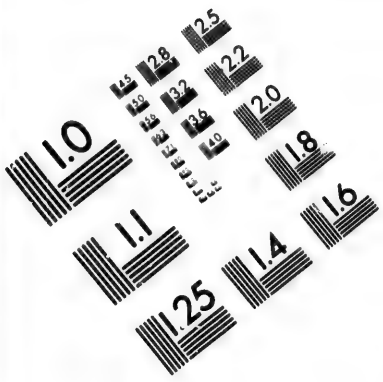
who should "endeavour" to oppose emigration; and it was even enacted, by the fifteenth section, "that no Indian, or descendant of an Indian, within the Cherokee nation of Indians, shall be a competent witness in any court of Georgia, in a suit in which a white man is a party, unless such white man resides within said nation."

Notwithstanding the adverse opinions of many of the ablest jurists in the country, as to the constitutionality or validity of these and other provisions of the Georgia legislature, and even a decision against them in the Supreme Court of the United States, they were, to a certain extent, enforced. The situation of the Indians became, in consequence, so precarious and uncomfortable, that a considerable party was formed among them of those favorable to migration. At the head of this faction was Major Ridge, while the celebrated John Ross was the leader of those opposed to the movement—a very large majority of the nation.

Matters continued in a disturbed and unquiet state, until 1835. At this time the Rev. J. T. Schermerhorn was deputed by the United States executive to bring about a treaty whereby the Cherokees should remove peaceably, receiving a reasonable compensation for the improvements which they should leave behind them.

The negotiation appears to have been conducted as most Indian treaties have been, wherever a specific object was to be gained. Notice was given of a council to be held, and a collection of those favorable to the proposed emigration ratified a treaty, by which the whole tribe was bound to remove within two years. Notwithstanding the obvious want of authority on the part of those individuals to bind the nation, and a remonstrance signed by the thousands who opposed the treaty, it was ratified by Congress. An appropriation was made for the indemnification of those who should suffer loss by being torn from their





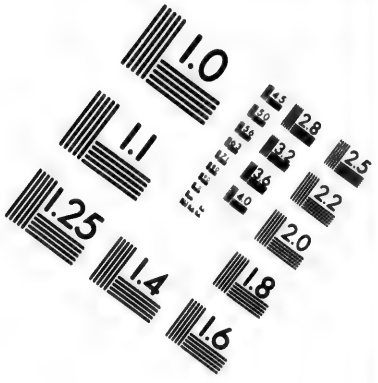
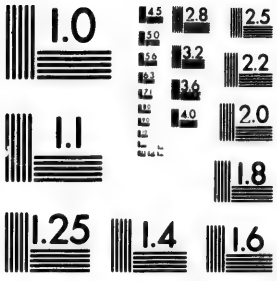
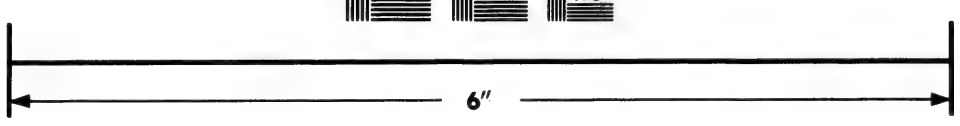
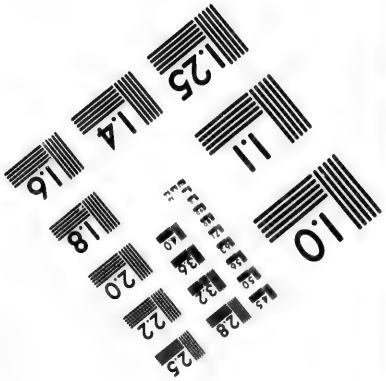


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)









Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

homes, and for the other expenses attending the iniquitous transaction, and nothing was left to the unhappy Cherokees but submission.

No resistance was made, as, indeed, any opposition would have been utterly fruitless. The United States' forces, sent to overawe the Indians and enforce compliance with the cruel edict, found no call for their services. With a commendable spirit of energy and perseverance, the Cherokees, with their brethren of the neighboring tribes of the south, have pursued the arts and refinements of civilization in their new homes at the west. They are now set down as numbering not far from twenty-six thousand, of whom by far the larger portion is located west of the Mississippi. A considerable settlement, however, is still existing in North Carolina.

The Creeks or Muscogees have been continually emigrating westward since the era of the difficulties between the southern states and the Indians within their limits, in 1828–9, *et seq.* They enjoy a tolerably systematic form of government, and are in many respects prosperous.

Without going into a particular description of the condition of the other emigrating nations, we will conclude this subject with the remarks of Mr. Schoolcraft, upon "The problem of civilization," to be solved in the future history of these races. "Whatever doubts have existed, heretofore, in regard to the satisfactory solution of this question, they must now give way before the cheering results that have attended the philanthropic efforts that have, from time to time, been made, and are at present going on among the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks. These tribes yielded their country east of the Mississippi, rendered dear to them by the associations of youth, their traditions, and the graves of their fathers. They had learned the great truths of Christianity, and the arts of agriculture, and of civilized life; yet they gave up

all, and sought a new home in the far-off wilderness, and have made in that wilderness fruitful and rich farms, and flourishing villages. Some of their schools are of a high order. The gospel ministry is well attended. Some of their constitutions are purely republican. The people are increasing in numbers. Peace dwells within their limits, and plenteousness within their borders; civilization upon Christian principles; agriculture and the mechanic arts; and schools. With these primary and fundamental principles of human happiness, civilization among them is no longer problematical."

NORTHERN RACES.

CHAPTER I.

THE ESQUIMAUX: THEIR MANNERS AND PERSONAL APPEARANCE—ACCOUNTS OF EARLY VOYAGERS—ESQUIMAUX HABITATIONS, FOOD, ETC.—THE KAJAK OR CANOE—SEALING—THE REIN-DEER—USES OF THE DOG—PATRIARCHAL GOVERNMENT—EFFECTS OF FOREIGN INTERCOURSE.

"Semper hyems; semper spirantes frigora Cauri."
VIRGIL.

THERE is little, besides some analogies in language, to connect the uncouth race which forms the subject of this chapter with the inhabitants of the more genial climates of North America. The Esquimaux are spread over a vast region at the north, dwelling principally upon the sea-coast, and upon the numberless inlets and sounds with which the country is intersected. There is a striking similarity in the language, habits and appearance of all the tribes of the extreme north, from Greenland to Bhering's Straits.

Charlevoix gives a very uninviting description of their personal aspect. He tells us that there are none of the American races who approach so nearly to the idea usually entertained in Europe of "savages" as do the Esquimaux. In striking contrast to the thin beard (for the most part artificially eradicated) of other American aborigines, these people have that excrescence "*si épaisse jusq 'aux yeux, qu'on a peine à decouvrir 'quelques traits*

de leur visage." It covers their faces nearly to the eyes; so that one can scarcely distinguish some features of their countenance. They have, moreover, he says, something hideous in their general aspect and demeanor—small, wild-looking eyes, large and very foul teeth, the hair generally black, but sometimes fair, and always in extreme disorder, and their whole exterior rough and brutish. Their manners and character do not falsify this unprepossessing physiognomy. They are savage, rude, suspicious, unquiet, and always evil-disposed towards strangers. He considers their fair hair and skin, with the slight general resemblance they bear towards, and the limited intercourse they carry on with, the neighboring natives, as indisputable evidence of a separate origin.

Prichard says, that "the description given by Crantz of the Greenlanders, may well apply to the whole race. They are, for the most part, under five feet in stature. They have well-shaped and proportioned limbs. Their face is commonly broad and flat, with high cheek-bones, but round and plump cheeks; their eyes are little and black, but devoid of sparkling fire; their nose is not flat, but small, and projecting but little; their mouth is little and round, and the under lip somewhat thicker than the other. They have universally coal-black, straight, strong and long hair on their heads, but no beards, because they root it out."—These last particulars will be seen to be variant from the description given above by Charlevoix, of the race in general.—Crantz proceeds: "Their hands and feet are little and soft, but their head and the rest of their limbs are large. They have high breasts and broad shoulders; their whole body is fat."

The descriptions handed down by the most ancient voyagers to Greenland of the Skrællings or natives whom they encountered, corresponds very nearly with the general outline above given. They speak of them as a

dwarfish people—seldom more than four feet four inches in height; suspicious and hostile towards strangers; subsisting upon the products of the sea; clothed in the same style, and using the same weapons, boats and implements, as those still inhabiting the country. The inhospitable nature of their climate, their slender resources, and the deterioration of the race consequent upon such a mode of life as theirs, seem to preclude the probability of much improvement ever taking place in their condition.

The Esquimaux received little better treatment, at the hands of the early European discoverers, than did their brethren farther south. It is strange to read of the coolness with which those adventurers speak of the enormities committed not unfrequently against the unoffending and ignorant natives. The meeting with several "wild men," and the killing one of them "to make the rest tractable," is mentioned as a passing and ordinary event.

In Frobisher's expedition, after a skirmish in which many of the Indians were killed, two prisoners were taken. One of them, an old woman, was so disgustingly hideous in her whole appearance that suspicions were entertained lest she should be the devil himself; and the captors proceeded to pluck off her buskins, in order to satisfy themselves as to whether the cloven hoof was not concealed by them. The other captive, a young woman, with a wounded child in her arms, was retained, but the old hag was dismissed as being too revolting an object to be endured. When attempts were made to apply remedies to the wound of the child, the mother "licked off with her tongue the dressings and salves, and cured it in her own way."

John Davis was disposed to treat them more kindly than most of his predecessors, but his indignation was finally excited by their "practising their devilish nature," and he allowed his men to retaliate upon them in some measure.

Notwithstanding the bad character given of this people, it appears that, after their first suspicions are allayed, they prove gentle and tractable associates; and are by no means wanting in urbanity and kindliness. How readily their suspicions are allayed, will appear from the account of Captain Back's first meeting with a small party of Esquimaux. They were seen at a short distance, gathering in excited groups, or running about at their wit's-end with astonishment at the appearance of these "Kabloonds" or Europeans, being the first they had ever seen. When the English began to advance towards them, they were at first repelled by wild outcries, and gesticulations, and by hostile demonstrations with the spears, which formed the weapons of the Indians. The uncouth group stood in a semi-circle, "yelling out some unintelligible word," as the captain boldly and composedly walked up to them, and made signs of peace, throwing up his hands, as he observed them to do, and calling out "Tima"—(peace). "In an instant their spears were flung to the ground; and, putting their hands on their breasts, they also called out Tima, with much more, doubtless greatly to the purpose."

Any attempt to give a connected history of the Esquimaux, from the time of their first intercourse with Europeans would necessarily resolve itself into a narrative of the various polar expeditions. The progress of the Christian missions upon the coast, could we afford space to enter upon it, might throw some light upon the natural endowments of the race; but we must content ourselves with a few general descriptions, cited indiscriminately from different authors.

The dwellings of the Esquimaux consist either of moveable tents, constructed of poles and skins, in the style of an ordinary Indian wigwam, or of regularly arched domes of snow and ice. The precision, rapidity, and geometrical accuracy which they display in shaping the blocks of which

these snow huts are composed, excite the admiration of the beholder. An art which the architects of the ancient nations of Europe never acquired—the formation of the arch—has from time immemorial been in use among this untutored race. The snow houses prove as tight, warm, and comfortable as could be desired; but the habits of the occupants render them insufferably offensive to the whites. Crowded with dogs, defiled with oil, blubber, and offal; and blackened by smoke and filth, they are said to nauseate even those whose lives are passed amid the impurities of a whale-ship. A person entering one of these huts is obliged to creep through a low arched passage into the principal apartment, which, like those leading from it, presents the appearance of a perfectly-formed dome, lighted by a window of transparent ice let into the roof.

The tents, used upon the migratory expeditions in search of game, consist of skins, supported by a circle of poles bent together at the top, and in severe weather, thickly lined within with rein-deer skins. During the long dark night of winter, when food is exceedingly scarce; shut up in these dismal abodes; and enduring extremes of cold and privation elsewhere unknown; the condition of the Esquimaux seems most deplorable to one who has lived in the enjoyment of the comforts of civilization. Far, however, from complaining of their lot, they exhibit a singular cheerfulness and equanimity, even when in the greatest straits. Parry speaks, in the following words, of the miserable condition of a few Esquimaux who inhabited a hut in a deserted village, after the rest of the tribe had moved westward at the approach of spring. "The remaining tenants of each hut had combined to occupy one of the apartments; a great part of the bed-places were still bare, and the wind and drift blowing in through the holes which they had not yet taken the trouble to stop up. The old man Hikkeiera and his wife occupied a hut by themselves,

without any lamp, or a single ounce of meat belonging to them; while three small skins, on which the former was lying, were all that they possessed in the way of blankets. Upon the whole, I never beheld a more miserable spectacle, and it seemed a charity to hope that a violent and constant cough with which the old man was afflicted, would speedily combine with his age and infirmities to release him from his present sufferings. Yet, in the midst of all this, he was even cheerful, nor was there a gloomy countenance to be seen at the village."

The flesh of the rein-deer, musk-ox, walrus, and seal, with fish, water-fowl, and occasionally the carcase of a stranded whale, forms the chief nourishment of the Esquimaux. Nothing that has life comes amiss to them, and, although they prefer cooked meat to raw, this preparation is by no means deemed essential. The only vegetable diet procurable at the extreme north, except at those places where the natives can obtain foreign articles, consists of the leaves of sorrel, ground-willow, &c., with a few berries and roots.

"In eating their meals," according to Parry's account, "the mistress of the family, having previously cooked the meat, takes a large lump out of the pot with her fingers, and hands it to her husband, who, placing a part of it between his teeth, cuts it off with a large knife in that position, and then passes the knife and meat together to his next neighbor. In cutting off a mouthful of meat the knife passes so close to their lips, that nothing but constant habit could insure them from the danger of the most terrible gashes; and it would make an English mother shudder to see the manner in which children five or six years old, are at all times freely trusted with a knife to be used in this way."

Most of the birds and quadrupeds upon which they rely are migratory, and only to be taken between the months

of May and October. In March, April and May, the difficult and dangerous hunting of the seal and walrus is their only resource, and success in the pursuit their only refuge from starvation. The "kaiak" or canoe, constructed of skins, and capable of containing but a single person, is all-essential in seal-hunting. Great dexterity is required in its management, and how the operation of throwing the dart or harpoon, and of securing the bulky prey, can be carried on in safety in such a slender and unsteady conveyance, seems incomprehensible to the unpractised eye. The frail boat is built with great elegance and lightness. A frame of slender beams of fir is constructed, twenty or twenty-five feet in length, a little less than two feet in breadth, and about one foot deep. This is entirely covered with the skin of the neitiek, or small seal, so neatly and strongly sewed as to be perfectly water-tight. A circular hole is then cut in the deck, wherein sits the solitary navigator, urging the kaiak forward by means of a paddle having a blade at each end. He cannot founder so long as he can maintain an upright position. An upset would be inevitable destruction to one unacquainted with the nature of the craft, but the Esquimaux readily rights the kaiak under such circumstances, by a dexterous use of his paddle. A float is attached to the harpoon, used in striking the seal, which prevents him from escape by diving. As he reäppears, after a momentary submersion, his pursuers press upon and speedily dispatch him.

When the prey is brought to land, the duty of flaying, separating, and preparing it for preservation, devolves upon the women. Nothing is allowed to be wasted, but every portion of the carcase is applied to some useful purpose; the fastidiousness of the whites, touching the portions suitable for food, being utterly unknown. The lean meat of the seal and other animals is preserved in various ways. Much of it is cut in thin slices, and dried in the warm and

smoky atmosphere of the huts, and a concentrated article of food, called "Pemmican," is prepared by pounding it with fat.

The welcome event of a wounded or dead whale being driven on shore, brings down the whole neighboring population to share in the spoil. Nothing could be more valuable to these people than the various substances obtained from the enormous carcase. The blubber is separated and preserved for oil; the coarse muscular tissue forms to them a palatable article of food; the sinews serve for lines and cordage; and the whale-bone is made available by traffic with Europeans.

Of the rein-deer, two species furnish food and clothing to the inhabitants of the cold regions of northern America, although, singularly enough, none of them have succeeded in domesticating the animal. They are accustomed to discard no portion of the flesh, and even devour the contents of the stomach. Perhaps in no instance has the service of an animal proved of more signal aid and comfort to any race than that of the dog to the Esquimaux. The principal use to which he is applied is that of drawing the sledge, but, upon hunting excursions, in the summer, he is loaded with a weight, it is said, of some thirty pounds. The sledges in which winter journeys are performed, are drawn by a number of dogs proportionate to the weight to be transported, the distance to be traversed, and perhaps the possessions of the owner. The animals are separately connected with the sledge, at unequal distances, by single thongs of leather or hide. The most sagacious and well-trained of the pack is placed at the end of the longest tether, some twenty feet from the vehicle, to act as leader, and the intelligence and certainty with which he obeys the signal of command from the driver is very striking.

The whip with which the movements of the team are guided, and with which the refractory or stupid are disci

plined, consists of a short stock—only eighteen inches in length—to which a lash, long enough to reach the leading dog, is attached, and allowed to trail beside the sledge. This lash is rendered pliable by a process resorted to for preparing leather for various purposes, viz: that of *chewing*. The operation is performed by the women, and to its constant exercise, some travellers attribute the bad condition of their teeth, before noticed. The sledge is composed of two runners, of wood or bone,—sometimes of the jaw-bones of a whale—connected by cross-pieces and lashings. Moss is packed closely between these, and skins are laid upon the top. The runners are preserved from wear, and made to slide easily over the surface of the snow by coating them with smooth ice.

The Esquimaux perform journeys of sixty miles a day, with a single pack of dogs, and stories, at first glance almost incredible, are told of the distances accomplished, and the weights transported by particularly fine specimens of the breed. Besides serving as a beast of burden and draught, the Esquimaux dog is a bold and active assistant in the hunt for rein-deer, bears, &c.; but, singularly enough, while he will rush upon an animal so much his superior in size and strength as the bear, he is terror-stricken at the sight of the wolf, to whom he bears a striking resemblance, and with whom he would seem more equally matched.

Faithful and docile, and subsisting upon the coarsest refuse, the dog supplies to the Esquimaux the place of the rein-deer, in other high latitudes, for all laborious service. He meets with nothing but rough treatment and scanty fare: his master never caresses or makes much of him; but this does not prevent him from forming the strong attachments peculiar to the race.

No where do we find a system of patriarchal government maintained in more primeval simplicity than among the

Esquimaux, and no where is that authority more mildly administered. Families and communities live together in the greatest harmony, and no one arrogates to himself a control over those about him beyond the circle of his own family. Dexterity and success in fishing and hunting form almost the only claim for admiration or distinction in the eyes of this unsophisticated people. So peaceful and contented a life, amid the eternal snows of the north, with such few means of comfort and enjoyment, stands forth in striking contrast with the private discontent and public animosity of more privileged nations.

Where the natives of Greenland and other countries at the north have held free intercourse with Europeans, instances have been found, among them, of much higher intelligence than is usually attributed to the race. Captain Parry, in his second voyage, particularly describes a female named Iligliuk. Her correct ear for music, and appreciation of its beauties, were very remarkable; and the interest and attention which all the novel mechanical arts exercised on board the ship excited in her mind, gave evidence of no little capacity for improvement.

We cannot give a better idea of the effect which intercourse with foreigners has produced upon some of the Esquimaux, in changing their original quiet and unobtrusive demeanor, than by the following quotation from Captain Lyon:

"I could not but compare the boisterous, noisy, fat fellows, who were along-side, in excellent canoes, with well-furnished, iron-headed weapons, and handsome clothing, with the poor people we had seen at Southampton Island; the latter with their spear-heads, arrows, and even knives of chipped flint, without canoes, wood, or iron, and with their tents and clothes full of holes, yet of mild manners, quiet in speech, and as grateful for kindness as they were anxious to return it, while those now along-side had, per-

haps, scarcely a virtue left, owing to the roguery they had learned from their annual visit to the Hudson's Bay ships. An air of saucy independence, a most clamorous demand for presents, and several attempts at theft, some of which were successful, were their leading characteristics. Yet I saw not why I should constitute myself the censor of these poor savages; and our barter was accordingly conducted in such a manner as to enrich them very considerably."

CHAPTER II.

THE ESQUIMAUX OF MELVILLE PENINSULA—THEIR STATURE AND COSTUME—SNOW HUTS AND THEIR FURNITURE—IMPLEMENTS FOR HUNTING AND SEALING—MENTAL TRAITS.

THE most complete picture ever yet given of Esquimaux life and peculiarities, is to be found in "Parry's Second Voyage in search of a North-west Passage;" particularly in that portion of the work, at the end of the narrative, devoted to an "account of the Esquimaux of Melville Peninsula and the adjoining Islands." It is our purpose, in this chapter, to give a brief outline of the statistics and details there collected.

Respecting their general appearance, Parry's description of the natives does not vary materially from that which we have already given. He represents their stature as follows: the "average height of the men, five feet, five and one-third inches; of the women, five feet and one-half inch." The women appear shorter than this standard, from a stoop acquired by carrying their infants in a "hood," and from the great bulk of their clothing. They are not an ill-formed race, and, among the tribe, were "three or four grown-up people, of each sex, who, when divested of their skin dresses, their tattooing, and, above all, of their

dirt, might have been considered pleasing-looking, if not handsome people, in any town in Europe."

They wear their hair generally long; the men allowing it to flow carelessly, while the women dispose it in two plaits or ques, which hang down on each side of the face.

Their dress bears marks of no little skill and nicety of finish, and is admirably calculated to defend them from the terrible severity of the winter-season. A double outfit of jackets, breeches, and boots, made of deer and seal-skins; the inner suit having the hair turned inward, while the outer garment exhibits a hairy defence against the snow or rain, is essential upon all occasions of exposure to the open air. Water-proof boots and shoes, made of seal-skin, form a complete protection from the wet when the men are engaged in fishing and sealing. A warm and comfortable hood of furs covers the head and neck, and surrounds the face. The most absurd and ungainly portion of the dress of either sex is the boot worn by the women. This is enormously enlarged, for the purpose of furnishing a convenient pocket or general receptacle for whatever may be carried upon the person. The cavity is even large enough to admit of a child being stowed in it—a common custom in Labrador.

All their clothing is strongly and neatly stitched, and no little pains is taken to render it ornamental by a judicious arrangement of light and dark furs.

The true Indian taste for beads and showy ornaments prevails, and is satisfied, when other materials are wanting, by affixing numberless strings of the teeth of wild animals to the borders of their garments. In one instance, "a row of foxes' noses" was seen "attached to the forepart of a woman's jacket like a tier of black buttons."

All the women of this tribe were thoroughly tattooed. The manner of performing this operation was by passing

a needle and thread through the outer skin, the thread being saturated with oil and lamp-black.

The internal arrangements of the circular snow-huts in which the winter is passed, are as follows: Around each room, next the wall, a bank of snow is built to the height of two or three feet, upon which are placed, first a coating of pebbles, then a row of tent-poles, paddles, and whalebone, and above all a layer of birch twigs. Upon these are spread the skins and furs which constitute the bedding of the inmates. It is evident that quite a low temperature must be maintained in order to preserve both house and furniture. The only means of warming the huts is by a sort of lamp, consisting of a shallow dish wrought of stone (*lapis ollaris*), "its form being the lesser segment of a circle. The wick, consisting of dry moss rubbed between the hands till it is quite inflammable, is disposed along the edge of the lamp on the straight side, and a greater or smaller quantity lighted according to the heat required or the fuel that can be afforded." The flame is fed by the drippings of a slice of fat or blubber, suspended within reach of the blaze. The stone pots for cooking are hung over this lamp, and, above all, is a net, stretched upon a hoop, whereon wet boots and other garments are placed to dry.

The general atmosphere of the apartment is kept a little below the freezing point. Parry observed the thermometer, at a time when it fell to twenty-five degrees below zero in the open air, to stand at thirty-two degrees within a few feet of the fire; and this when the hut was filled with Indians and dogs. To increase the warmth, occasions a troublesome dripping from the roof, an inconvenience to which the inhabitants are obliged to submit

during some of the spring months, before the season has become mild enough for dwelling in tents.

The principal household utensils are the lamps and pots above mentioned, certain cups of the horn of the musk-ox, vessels of whalebone, and the ivory or iron knife. The latter, or at least the material of which it is composed, is obtained by commerce with the whites. They manufacture themselves a knife, having a thin iron edge let into the bone which forms the blade. To a limited extent some of the Esquimaux obtain and manufacture iron from the iron pyrites found in certain localities, and which serves them for flint and steel in lighting fires.

The implements for hunting, in use among these Esquimaux, are simple but effective. The "siatko," which serves the purpose of a harpoon in taking seals, walruses, and even whales, is a particularly ingenious contrivance. It consists of a short piece of bone, pointed with iron, and attached by the centre to the "allek," or long thong of leather. The blunt end of the siatko is fitted to the end of the dart, and is attached by a line, that it can be disengaged the instant the dart strikes the prey. From the manner in which it is slung, it instantly turns at right angles to the direction of its entrance, and will endure a very severe strain before it can be drawn out. At the other end of the "allek" is tied an inflated seal-skin, which serves to bring the animal quickly to the surface of the water.

For their bows, they are obliged to use the wood of the fir-tree, and, in order to give them the requisite strength and elasticity, they are very artfully and neatly served with lines constructed of sinews. At each end of the bow, is a knob of bone, and to these the strengthening lines are attached and drawn tight, while the bow is bent backward. They pass from end to end, on the back of the bow, and are secured and assisted by other shorter cords

fastened by hitches round the wood. The above description applies to the best weapons of the sort.—"A bow in one piece," says the narrative, "is very rare: they generally consist of from two to five pieces of bone, of unequal lengths, secured together by rivets and tree-nails." The arrows are of wood and bone united, and have heads of iron or slate. They will inflict a mortal wound at a distance of forty or fifty yards.

In the construction of all these implements, a knife and a drill are the principal tools used. The latter operates with a bow, like that in common use among us.

It is evident that intellectual advancement is entirely incompatible with such a life as we have described. The ideas of the Supernatural entertained by the Esquimaux are vague in the extreme. "They do not appear," says the description in Parry, "to have any idea of the existence of One Supreme Being, nor, indeed, can they be said to entertain any notions on this subject which may be dignified with the name of Religion."

Of certain games, consisting mostly in fantastic distortions of the body, and comical ejaculations, they are never weary; and a strange monotonous song, of which the words and music are given by Parry, furnishes amusement until the performers desist from sheer weariness.

Their moral character is probably upon a par with that of most savages. They do not possess the high, indomitable spirit, the scorn of suffering, the clannish fury of patriotism, nor the fondness for war, so commonly considered the nobler traits of the American aborigines; but, on the other hand, they are more kindly domestic in their feelings, and less cruel and revengeful than their brethren at the South.

They exhibit little gratitude for favors, and when exposed to the strong temptation presented them by the presence of such a magazine of treasure as a foreign ship, they

will generally indulge in pilfering. Those travellers who have been most familiar with the strange race, accord to them many pleasing qualities: while their vices are such as must naturally result from their destitute and hopeless condition. Their whole history might prove unspeakably valuable to us did we wisely gather from it a lesson of content.

CHAPTER III.

THE KNISTENEAUX, CHIPPEWAS, ETC.

THE Knisteneaux, or Crees, are a nation materially different from the Esquimaux. They have a much nearer resemblance than that people to the other North American tribes, and, from close analogies in language, are considered as a branch of the great Algonquin stock, which, centering in the Canadas, spread over such an extent of the North American continent.

The country formerly occupied by the Knisteneaux—for the ravages of the small-pox have in late years miserably reduced their numbers—is of vast extent; lying between the United States and the Esquimaux region, and extending westward to the Rocky Mountains. The line of their occupation is thus given by Mackenzie: Commencing with the coast of Labrador, it extends along the north bank of the St. Lawrence, to Montreal. "The line then follows the Utawas river to its source; and continues from thence nearly west along the high lands which divide the waters that fall into Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. It then proceeds till it strikes the middle part of the river Winipic, following that water through the Lake Winipic, to the discharge of the Saskatchawan into it; from thence it accompanies the latter to Fort George, when the line strik-

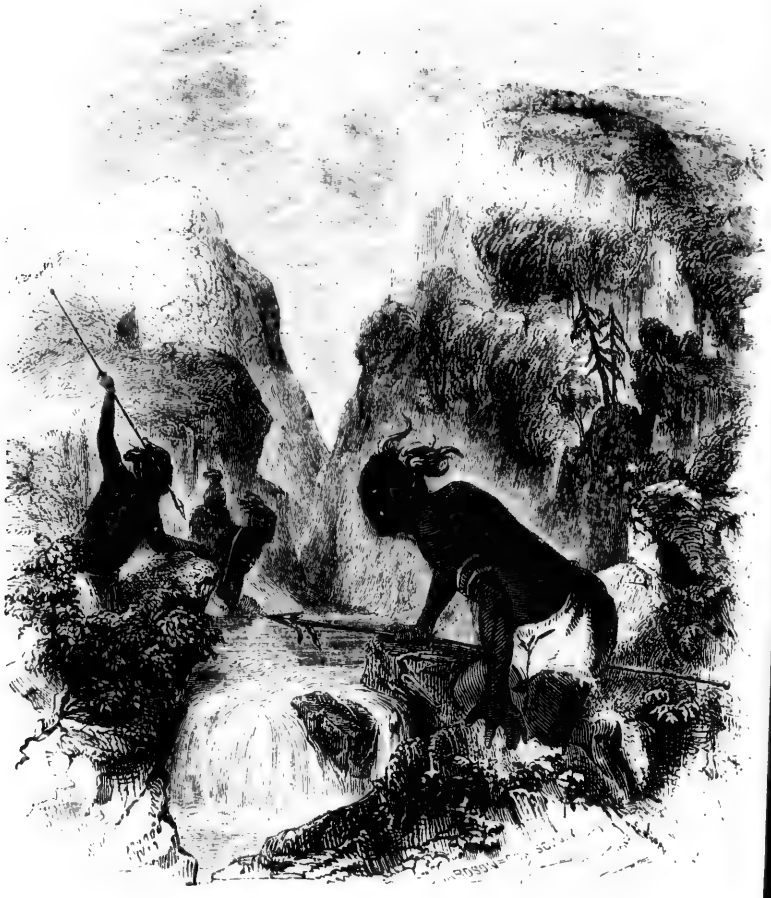
ing by the head of the Beaver River, to the Elk River, runs along its banks to its discharge in the Lake of the Hills; from which it may be carried back east to the Isle a la Crosse, and so on to Churchill by the Mississippi. The whole of the tract between this line and Hudson's Bay and Straits, (except that of the Esquimaux in the latter,) may be said to be exclusively the country of the Knisteneaux." They were also to be found upon Red River, (which, after uniting with the Assinaboin, empties into Lake Winipeg,) and upon the south branch of the Saskatchawan.

These people possess all the ordinary characteristics of the American Indian; the copper complexion, black flowing hair, well-proportioned limbs, and keen black eyes. Travellers speak of the women as being far more attractive in personal appearance than the generality of squaws. Upon them devolves all the drudgery of domestic life, while the men devote their exclusive attention to hunting or war.

We notice no very material variation, except so far as climate and the nature of their country have affected their habits, between the dress, habitations, luxuries, ceremonies, and general usages of the Knisteneaux, and the great body of our western Indians. They are spoken of as of a friendly and hospitable disposition, and no more dishonest in their dealings than other savages, although some have given them the reputation of being arrant thieves.

Little of distinctive character attaches to the various minor tribes of the north, until we reach the Esquimaux, with whom little or no commerce is held by these nations, and with whom, from time immemorial, they have waged a desultory warfare. Mackenzie describes individuals and villages of the Red-Knives, Beavers Indians, Dog-Ribs, Hares, Slaves, Duguthee Dines (quarrellers), and many others; but they have no history, and few noticeable peculiarities.

Those farthest north are of rather a lighter complex-



INDIANS WATCHING FOR SALMON

ion than the inhabitants of more temperate climes, and exhibit the deteriorating influence of a life in a cold and desolate country.

Some interesting details of the habits and character of the Dog-Ribs, are given in the account of Sir John Richardson's Arctic Searching Expedition. They are rather a low order of the race, and have held sufficient intercourse with the whites to be aware of their own deficiencies and wants. They are nevertheless cheerful, and even hilarious, and exhibit little or none of that proud and stoical spirit which marks the more celebrated Indian nations.

They are grossly improvident, although warned by repeated and terrible experience of famine and suffering. When game is plenty, a scene of general waste and repletion is presented, to be followed by the utmost misery and want. In a country where the animals upon which the natives depend for subsistence are migratory and uncertain in their habits, such changes of condition must be of frequent occurrence.

When accounts are brought of success on the part of the hunting parties, the whole population of a village put themselves at once *en route* to share the spoil. If the deer should have shifted their quarters before the arrival of the troupe, and the place of rendezvous be far from home, the return is accompanied with the greatest danger and distress. Many of the aged and infirm are frequently left to perish under such circumstances.

Of several families of this nation, with whom Mackenzie held some intercourse, he says: "They are a meagre, ugly, ill-made people, particularly about the legs, which are very clumsy, and covered with scabs. The latter circumstance proceeds, probably, from their habitually roasting them before the fire. Many of them appeared to be in a very unhealthy state, which is owing, as I imagine, to their natural filthiness."

The Chippewas are spread over a vast region at the north, the limits of which it would, perhaps, be impossible accurately to define. Mackenzie, writing about the year 1790, lays down the tract occupied by tribes who speak substantially the same language, as follows: "It begins at Churchill, and runs along the lines of separation between them and the Knisteneaux, up the Mississippi, to the Isle a la Crosse, passing on through the Buffalo Lake, River Lake, and Portage la Loche: from thence it proceeds by the Elk River, to the Lake of the Hills, and goes directly west to the Peace River; and up that river to its source and tributary waters; from whence it proceeds to the waters of the River Columbia; and follows that river to latitude fifty-two degrees twenty-four minutes, north, and longitude one hundred and twenty-two degrees fifty-four minutes west, where the Chepewyans have the Atnah or Chin nation for their neighbours. It then takes a due line west to the sea-coast."

The coast Indians, on the Pacific, differ from those of whom we are now treating. In the vicinity of Bhering's Straits, they are Esquimaux, but as we proceed southward, we find distinct and separate races.

The Chippewas, according to the writer above-quoted, are a quiet peaceable race, of a timorous disposition and wandering habits. They take great pains to prepare their dress so as to resist the extreme cold, and so well are they protected in this respect, that when arrayed in the warm furs and skins which form the winter attire, one of the tribe "will lay himself down on the ice in the middle of a lake, and repose in comfort; though he will sometimes find a difficulty in the morning to disencumber himself of the snow drifted on him during the night." The women are not bad-looking, but the hard service of drawing loaded sledges, and the continued necessity of wearing the bulky and ponderous snow-shoe, give them a shuffling and awkward gait.

Great ingenuity and skill are displayed by the Chippewas, particularly by those dwelling upon the head-waters of the Mississippi, in the construction of their birch-bark canoes. Probably in no other part of the world are boats to be found so light and portable, and yet capable of carrying an equal burden. They are commonly made of a single roll of the bark, neatly and strongly sewed, and so shaped, by the adaptation of light thwarts or braces, as to be both graceful and swift. It requires, however, no little adroitness to manage one of these light crafts, as the weight of the canoe is so trifling as to aid very little in the preservation of equilibrium. Sketches of Chippewa canoes are given by Mr. Catlin, and contrasted with the awkward tubs of the Mandans.

Mackenzie says that these people are not like the Knisteneaux and most other North American Indians, reserved and distant in their communications with strangers or with each other after a long separation; and that they do not exhibit those extremes of alternate energy and indolence so noticeable in other races.

In such a country as they inhabit their food must, of course, be almost entirely animal. They are more skilled in fishing, and in snaring deer, beaver, &c., than in the more active methods of securing game. Like the Esquimaux, although they prefer their meat cooked, they can well make a shift to eat it without any preparation, when unable to procure fuel. On their journies, they are supported by the nutritious and portable preparation called pemmican, which we have before mentioned as in use among the Esquimaux. It is made in the following manner: Thin slices of lean meat are dried over a fire, or by alternate exposure to sun and frost, and then pounded between stones. A quantity of boiling fat, equal to the mass of meat, is then poured upon it, and the whole is closely packed in bags or baskets. No salt or other con-

diment is used in the operation, but, in some instances, the pemmican is made savory by the addition of marrow and dried berries.

Some of the men are observed to be furnished with a thick bushy beard; but, generally speaking, the custom of eradicating this appendage is common to the Chippewas, as to most other of the Indian nations. Tattooing is common among both sexes, and serves as a distinguishing mark of the different tribes.

VARIOUS NATIONS AND TRIBES

BETWEEN THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

CHAPTER I.

THE SIOUX, OR DAHCOTAS, AND OTHER TRIBES OF THE SAME RACE: CLASSIFICATION—THE MANDANS: THEIR NUMBER, SITUATION, VILLAGES, ETC.—THEIR CEMETERIES—AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE OF THE DEAD.

An accurate classification of the American Indians, either founded upon dissimilarities in the language of different tribes, or upon differences in physical peculiarities, is impossible, particularly in treating of the scattered and wandering people of the far west. The races vary by such slight shades of distinction, and such analogies exist between their languages, that even where the distinction is perfectly evident in the nation at large, the line of demarcation can with difficulty be drawn. In other instances, the same nation, when divided into separate clans, inhabiting districts of dissimilar nature, and resorting to different modes of life, will be found, in the course of one or two generations, to present the appearance of distinct races.

Perhaps it would be wiser to accept the popular divisions, whether derived directly from the natives, or established by those most familiar with them, than to attempt any refined distinctions. In an essay upon natural history, or in researches into historical antiquities, a particularity might be useful or necessary, which in an outline of history and description would be but perplexing and tedious.

A vast wilderness at the west, upon the Missouri and the upper western tributaries of the Mississippi, is inhabited by the various tribes allied to the Sioux or Dahcotah. One of the earliest accounts given of these people, then known as the Naudowessies, is to be found in the travels of Captain Jonathan Carver, who spent the winter of 1766-7 among them. Of later observations and descriptions, by far the most interesting and complete are contained in the published letters of Mr. George Catlin, accompanied as they are by spirited and artistic portraits and sketches of scenery.

Those of this race known as the proper Sioux, *soi disant* Dahcotas, are mostly established upon the river of St. Peter and in the country adjacent. Some of the eastern tribes are more or less agricultural, but the others are wild hunters like their brethren of the far west. The Sioux were divided, a century since, into the following eight tribes: the Wawpeentowas, the Tintons, the Afracootans, the Mawhaws (Omawhas), and the Schians, all of whom dwelt in the priarie country, upon the St. Peter, and three other clans of the then unexplored region to the westward. The Assinaboins anciently belonged to the same stock.

By Mr. Gallatin the race is divided as follows: "1, The Winnebagos, of Wisconsin; 2, The Sioux proper, or Dahcotas, and the Assinaboins; 3, The Minetari and tribes allied to them; 4, The Osages, and other kindred tribes," farther south.—(*Pritchard's Natural History of Man*). The Minetari are held to include the Crows and the Mandans.

To a description of this last people, now, as a separate race, entirely extinct, Mr. Catlin has devoted no small portion of his interesting descriptions of western adventure. They differed widely from all other American Indians in several particulars. The most noticeable of these were the great diversity in complexion and in the color and texture of the hair. When visited by this traveller, in 1832, the Mandans were established at two villages, only two miles

asunder, upon the left bank of the Missouri, about two hundred miles below the mouth of the Yellowstone.

There were then not far from two thousand of the tribe, but, from their own traditions, and from the extensive ruins of their former settlement—some distance below—it was evident that their numbers had greatly decreased. The principal town was strongly fortified upon the precipitous river bank, on two sides defended by the winding stream, and on the other by piqueting of heavy timber, and by a ditch. The houses within were so closely set as to allow of little space for locomotion. They were partially sunk in the ground, and the roofs were covered with earth and clay to such a depth and of such consistency that they afforded the favorite lounging places for the occupants.

"One is surprised," says Catlin, "when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for the lodge." The building consisted of a row of perpendicular stakes or timbers, six feet or thereabout in height, supporting long rafters for the roof. A hole was left in the center for air, light, and the escape of smoke. The rafters were supported in the middle by beams and posts: over them was laid a thick coating of willow brush, and over all the covering of earth and clay. An excavation in the centre of the hut was used as a fireplace. Each of these houses served for a single family, or for a whole circle of connections, according to its dimensions. The furniture consisted of little more than a rude sort of bedsteads, with sacking of buffalo skin, and sometimes an ornamental curtain of the same material. Posts were set in the ground, between the beds, provided with

pegs, from which depended the arms and accoutrements of the warriors.

"This arrangement of beds, of arms, &c.," continues our author, "combining the most vivid display and arrangement of colours, of furs, of trinkets—of barbed and glistening points and steel—of mysteries and hocus pocus, together with the sombre and smoked colour of the roof and sides of the lodge; and the wild, and rude, and red—the graceful (though uncivil) conversational, garrulous, story-telling, and happy, though ignorant and untutored groups, that are smoking their pipes—wooing their sweethearts, and embracing their little ones about their peaceful and endeared fire-sides; together with their pots and kettles, spoons, and other culinary articles of their own manufacture, around them; present, altogether, one of the most picturesque scenes to the eye of a stranger that can be possibly seen; and far more wild and vivid than could ever be imagined."

If the sight within the dwellings was novel and striking, much more so was that which occupied the painter's attention as he surveyed, from the roof of one of these domes, the motley scene of busy life without. In the centre of the village an open court was left for purposes of recreation and for the performances of the national religious ceremonies. Upon the rounded roofs of the domicils numerous busy or indolent groups were sitting or lounging in every possible attitude, while in the central area some were exercising their wild horses, or training and playing with their dogs. Such a variety of brilliant and fanciful costume, ornamented with plumes and porcupine quills, with the picturesque throng of Indians and animals, the closely crowded village, the green plain, the river, and the blue hills in the distance, formed a happy subject for the artist.

Without the picket of defence, the only objects visible,

ements

ues our
rrange-
d glist-
pocus,
he roof
d red—
rrulous,
ntutored
ir sweet-
peaceful
ots and
eir own
ne of the
that can
an could

striking,
r's atten-
e domes,
entre of
f recrea-
religious
domicils
or loung-
tral area
ning and
iant and
orcupine
animals,
iver, and
bject for

visible,



INDIANS MAKING THEIR OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD.



INDIANS MAKING THEIR OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD.

of man's construction, were the scaffoldings upon which the dead were exposed. The manner in which the funeral rites of the Mandans were conducted, with the subsequent details, constitutes the most touching portion of the author's narrative. The body of the dead person was tightly wrapped and bound up in fresh or soaked buffalo skins, together with the arms and accoutrements used in life, and the usual provision of tobacco, flint and steel, knife, and food. A slight scaffold is then prepared, of sufficient height to serve as protection from the wolves and dogs, and there the body is deposited to decay in the open air.

Day after day those who had lost friends would come out from the village to this strange cemetery, to weep and bewail over their loss. Such genuine and long-continued grief as was exhibited by the afflicted relatives puts to shame the cold-heartedness of too many among the cultivated and enlightened. When, after the lapse of years, the scaffolds had fallen, and nothing was left but bleached and mouldering bones, the remains were buried, with the exception of the skulls. These were placed in circles upon the plain, with the faces turned inward, each resting upon a bunch of wild sage; and in the centre, upon two slight mounds, "medicine-poles" were erected, at the foot of which were the heads and horns of a male and a female buffalo. To these new places of deposit, each of which contained not far from one hundred skulls, "do these people," says Catlin, "again resort, to evince their further affection for the dead—not in groans and lamentations, however, for several years have cured the anguish; but fond affections and endearments are here renewed, and conversations are here held, and cherished, with the dead."

The wife or mother would sit for hours by the side of the white relic of the loved and lost, addressing the skull with the most affectionate and loving tones, or, perhaps lying down and falling asleep with her arms around it.

Food would be nightly set before many of these skulls, and, with the most tender care, the aromatic bed upon which they reposed would be renewed as it withered and decayed.

CHAPTER II.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND PECULIARITIES OF THE MANDANS—THEIR HOSPITALITY AND URBANITY—THEIR CLEANLINESS OF PERSON—THEIR DRESS—PORTRAITS OF MANDAN CHIEFS—CONTRAST BETWEEN THE WILD TRIBES AND THOSE OF THE FRONTIER—MANDAN DOMESTIC USAGES—GAMES AND DANCES—TRAINING OF THE YOUTH—THE GREAT ANNUAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONY—THE MANDANS SUPPOSED TO BE OF WELSH DESCENT—ANNIHILATION OF THE TRIBE BY THE SMALL-POX.

UNLIKE the other Indian tribes of the west, the Mandans, instead of presenting a perfect uniformity in complexion, and in the color of the eyes and hair, exhibited as great diversity in these respects as will be noticed in a mixed population of Europeans. Their hair was, for the most part, very fine and soft, but in a number of instances a strange anomaly was observable, both in old and young, and in either sex, viz: a profusion of coarse locks of "a bright silvery gray," approaching sometimes to white.

Some of the women were quite fair, with blue eyes, and the most symmetrical features, combined with a very attractive and agreeable expression. It does not appear probable that sufficient intermixture with European races had ever taken place to account for these peculiarities, and some authors appear quite convinced that these Mandans are the remains of a great people, entirely distinct from the

nations around them. Of Mr. Catlin's researches and conclusions respecting their origin, we shall take occasion to speak hereafter.

In their disposition, the Mandans were hospitable and friendly; affectionate and kind in their treatment of each other; and mindful of the convenience and comfort of the stranger. Their figures were beautifully proportioned, and their movements and attitudes graceful and easy. Instead of the closely-shorn locks of some other races, they wore their hair long. The men were particularly proud of this appendage, and were at no small pains to arrange it in what they esteemed a becoming manner. It was thrown backward from the forehead, and divided into a number of plaits. These were kept in their position by glue and some red-tinted earth, with which they were matted at intervals. The women oiled and braided their hair, parting it in the middle; the place of parting was universally painted red.

A greater degree of cleanliness was observable in their persons than is common among savages. A particular location was assigned, at some distance from the village, up the river, where the women could resort undisturbed for their morning ablutions. A guard was stationed, at intervals, upon a surrounding circle of rising ground, to prevent intrusion. Those of both sexes and all ages were excellent swimmers; scarcely was one to be found who could not with ease cross the Missouri in this manner. Their only boats were round tubs made by stretching buffalo-skins over a light frame-work. The form and capacity of these clumsy water-craft, were strikingly similar to that of the coracles used in Wales and upon other portions of the coast of Great Britain.

As an additional means of luxury, and as an efficient remedy in case of sickness, a hut was devoted to the purpose of a steam-bath. This was effected by pouring water

upon heated stones, over which the patient was placed, wrapped in buffalo-robes, in a wicker-basket. The operation was always followed up by a plunge into the river, and a subsequent rubbing and oiling of the body. Such a mode of treatment produced terrible effects, in after times, when the small-pox spread through the tribe.

The dress of the Mandan warriors, although in its general fashion similar to that of the neighboring tribes, was singularly rich and elaborate. It was formed entirely of skins: a coat or hunting-shirt of buck-skin; leggins and moccasins of the same material, beautifully fringed, and embroidered with porcupine quills; and an outer mantle of the fur of a young buffalo, formed the principal equipment. The covering for the head was more elaborate, and was constructed, by all who could obtain the materials, of ermine skins, and feathers of the war-eagle. So high a value was set upon these head-dresses, that Mr. Catlin, after having bargained for the entire suit of a chief, whose portrait he had just painted, was obliged to give two horses, of the value of twenty-five dollars each, for the crowning ornament. Some few chiefs had attained a height of authority and renown which entitled them to add to their head-dress a pair of buffalo-horns, reduced in size and weight, and arranged as they grew upon the animal. The custom was not confined to the Mandans, but a similar ornament is widely considered as symbolic of power and warlike achievements among the western Indians.

Nothing could exceed the pride and delight of the chiefs of the tribe, after their first apprehensions at the novelty of the proceeding were allayed, at the sight of their own portraits, for which they were induced to sit by our author. He was constituted and proclaimed from the moment of the first exhibition, a "great medicine-man," and old and young thronged to see and to touch the worker of such a miracle. All declared that the pictures were, at least par-

tially, alive: for from whatsoever side they were beheld, still the eyes were seen fixed upon the beholder. An idea was started, and obtained a temporary credence, that some portion of the life of the person represented must have been abstracted by the painter, and that consequently his term of existence must be shortened. It was moreover feared lest, by the picture's living after the death of the original, the quiet rest of the grave should be troubled.

By a most ingenious and judicious policy in adopting a mode of explanation, suited to the capacity of his hearers, and by wisely ingratiating himself with the chiefs and medicine-men, Mr. Catlin succeeded in stilling the commotion excited by such suggestions and suspicions. He was held in high estimation, and feasted by the principal men of the tribe, whose portraits he obtained for his invaluable collection.

It is only among such remote tribes as the one which forms the subject of our present consideration, that any adequate idea can be formed of the true Indian character. The gluttony, drunkenness, surliness, and "shiftlessness" of the degraded race, that has caught the vices of the white men, without aiming at his civilization, are strongly contrasted with the abstemiousness, self-respect, and native dignity of the uncontaminated. "Amongst the wild Indians in this country," says Catlin, "there are no beggars—no drunkards—and every man, from a beautiful natural precept, studies to keep his body and mind in such a healthy shape and condition as will at all times enable him to use his weapons in self-defence, or struggle for the prize in their manly games."

The usual custom of polygamy was universally practiced among the Mandans, by all whose rank, position and means enabled them to make the necessary arrangements, and pay the stipulated price for their wives. The girls were generally sold by their parents at a very early age,

and, as among most barbarous nations, their fate was a life of toil and drudgery. Their time must be almost constantly employed in getting fuel, cultivating corn and squashes, preparing pemmican and other dried stores for winter, and in dressing and embroidering the buffalo-robes which their lord and master accumulated for trade with the whites.

Notwithstanding this apparently degraded position, we are informed that the women were seemingly contented with their lot, that they were modest in their deportment, and that "amongst the respectable families, virtue" was "as highly cherished, and as inapproachable as in any society whatever."

White traders among the extreme western tribes are said to be almost universally in the custom, from motives of policy, and perhaps from inclination, of allying themselves to one, at least, of the principal chiefs, by a temporary espousal of his daughter. In many instances they indulge in a plurality. This is a position greatly sought after by the young women, as they are enabled by it to indulge their native fondness for display, and are freed from the toil usually incident to their existence.

The men and boys, leading a life of ease, except when engaged upon a hunt, practiced a great variety of games and athletic sports, some of them very curious and original. Horse-racing, ball-playing, archery, &c., never failed to excite and delight them. An endless variety of dances, with vocal and instrumental accompaniments, served for recreation and religious ceremonials. Every word and step had some particular and occult signification, for the most part known only to those initiated in the mysteries of "medicine."

In times of scarcity, when the buffalo herds had wandered away from the vicinity, so far that the hunters dared not pursue them, for fear of enemies, the "buffalo dance"

was performed in the central court of the village. Every man of the tribe possessed a mask made from the skin of a buffalo's head, including the horns, and dried as nearly as possible in the natural shape, to be worn on these occasions. When the wise men of the nation determined upon their invocations to attract the buffalo herds, watchers were stationed upon the eminences surrounding the village, and the dance commenced. With extravagant action, and strange ejaculations, the crowd performed the prescribed manœuvres: as fast as those engaged became weary, they would signify it by crouching down, when those without the circle would go through the pantomime of severally shooting, flaying, and dressing them, while new performers took their place. Night and day the mad scene was kept up, sometimes for weeks together! until the signal was given of the approach of buffalo, when all prepared with joy and hilarity for a grand hunt, fully convinced that their own exertions had secured the prize.

No less singular was the ceremonial resorted to when the crops were suffering for want of rain. A knot of the wisest medicine-men would collect in a hut, where they held their session with closed doors, burning aromatic herbs and going through with an unknown series of incantations. Some tyro was then sent up to take his stand on the roof, in sight of the people, and spend the day in invocations for a shower. If the sky continued clear, he retired in disgrace, as one who need not hope ever to arrive at the dignity of a medicine-man. Day after day the performance continued, until a cloud overspread the skies, when the young Indian on the lodge discharged an arrow towards it, to let out the rain. From their earliest youth, the boys were trained to the mimic exercises of war and the chase. It was a beautiful sight to witness the spirit with which they would enact a sham fight upon the open prairie. A tuft of grass supplied the place of the scalp-

lock, and blunt arrows of grass or reeds, with wooden scalping-knives, formed their innocuous weapons. "If any one," says Catlin, "is struck with an arrow on any vital part of his body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, snatches it off and puts it into his belt, and enters again into the ranks and front of battle."

This was the true mode of forming warriors. The youth grew to manhood with the one idea that true dignity and glory awaited him alone who could fringe his garments with the scalps of his enemies. Some of the Mandan braves, even of their last generation, performed feats of daring, and engaged in chivalrous combats, which will almost compare with the deeds of Piskaret or Hiadeoni in the early history of the Iroquois.

At the risk of seeming to linger too long over the history and customs of a single tribe, few in numbers, and now extinct, we will give some description of the strange religious ceremony which occupied four days of each returning year. The religious belief of the Mandans was, in the main, not unlike that of most North American aborigines, but some of their self-torturing modes of adoration and propitiation of their deity were perfectly unique. The grand four days' ceremony had, according to Catlin, three distinct objects; a festival of thanksgiving for the escape of their ancestors from the flood! of which they had a distinct tradition, strikingly conformable to scriptural history; for the grand "bull-dance," to draw the buffalo herds towards the settlement; and to initiate the young men, by terrible trials and tortures, into the order of warriors, and to allow those whose fortitude had been fully tested to give renewed proofs of their capacity of endurance, and their claim to the position of chiefs and leaders.



INDIAN WAR-DANCE.

The period for the ceremony was that in which the leaves of the willow on the river bank were first fully opened; "for, according to their tradition," says Catlin, "'the twig that *the bird brought home* was a willow bough, and had full grown leaves upon it,' and the bird to which they allude is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me," as a *medicine-bird*. The first performances bore reference to the deluge, in commemoration of which a sort of "curb or hogshead" stood in the centre of the village court, symbolical of the "big canoe," in which the human race was preserved.

No intimation was given by the wise men, under whose secret management the whole affair was conducted, of the precise day when the grand celebration should commence; but at sunrise, one morning, Mr. Catlin and his white companions were aroused by a terrible tumult throughout the village. All seemed to be in a state of the greatest excitement and alarm, the cause of which was unexplainable, as the object at which all were gazing was a single figure approaching the village, from a bluff, about a mile distant. This personage soon entered within the inclosed space of the town: he was painted with white clay, and carried a large pipe in his hand. He was saluted by the principal men of the tribe as "Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah (the first or only man,"—in fact, none other than Noah himself)—who had come to open the great lodge reserved exclusively for the annual religious rites.

Having superintended the preparation of the medicine-house, and leaving men busy in adorning it with willow boughs and sage, and in the arrangement of divers skulls, both of men and buffaloes, which were essential in the coming mysteries, Nu-mohk-muck-a-nah made the rounds of the village, repeating before every lodge the tale of the great deluge, and telling how he alone had been saved in

his ark, and left by the retiring waters upon the summit of a western mountain!

At every hut he was presented with some cutting instrument, (such as was supposed to have been used in the construction of the ark,) to be thrown into the river as a sacrifice to the waters.

Next day, having ushered the young men who were to go through the fearful ordeal of self-inflicted torture into the sacred lodge, and appointed an old medicine-man to the office of "O-kee-pah Ka-se-kah, (keeper or conductor of the ceremonies,") he took up his march into the prairie, promising to appear again on the return of the season in the ensuing year.

The young warriors, preparatory to undergoing the torture, were obliged, until the fourth day from their entry into the lodge, to abstain from food, drink, or sleep!—Meanwhile, various strange scenes were enacted in the central area before the house. The grand buffalo-dance, a performance combining every thing conceivable of the grotesque and extravagant, was solemnly performed to insure a favorable season for the chase.

On the fourth day commenced the more horrible portion of the exercises. Mr. Catlin, as a great medicine-man, was admitted within the lodge throughout the performances, and had full opportunity to portray, with pen and pencil, the scenes therein enacted. Coming forward, in turn, the victims allowed the flesh of their breasts or backs to be pierced with a rough two-edged knife, and splinters of wood to be thrust through the holes. Enough of the skin and flesh were taken up to be more than sufficient for the support of the weight of the body. To these splints cords let down from the roof were attached, and the subject of these inflictions was hoisted from the ground. Similar splints were then thrust through the arms and legs, to which the warrior's arms, and, in some

cases, as additional weights, several heavy buffalo heads, were hung.

Thus far the fortitude of the Indian sufficed to restrain all exhibition of pain; while the flesh was torn with the rude knife, and the wooden skewers were thrust in, a pleasant smile was frequently observable on the young warrior's countenance; but when in the horrible position above described, with his flesh stretched by the splints till it appeared about to give way, a number of attendants commenced turning him round and round with poles, he would "burst out in the most lamentable and heart-rending cries that the human voice is capable of producing, crying forth to the Great Spirit to support and protect him in this dreadful trial."

After hanging until total insensibility brought a temporary relief to his sufferings, he was lowered to the floor, the main supporting skewers were withdrawn, and he was left to crawl off, dragging the weights after him. The first movement, with returning consciousness, was to sacrifice to the Great Spirit one or more of the fingers of the left hand, after which the miserable wretch was taken out of the lodge. Within the court a new trial awaited him; the last, but most terrible of all. An active man took his position on each side of the weak and mutilated sufferer, and, passing a thong about his wrist, urged him forward at the top of his speed in a circle round the arena. When, faint and weary, he sank on the ground, the tormentors dragged him furiously around the ring until the splints were torn out by the weights attached, and he lay motionless and apparently lifeless. If the splint should have been so deeply inserted that no force—even that of the weight of individuals in the crowd, thrown upon the trailing skulls—could break the integuments, nothing remained but to crawl off to the prairie and wait until it should give way by suppuration. To draw the skewer out would be unpardonable sacrilege.

It is told of one man that he suspended himself from the precipitous river bank by two of these skewers, thrust through his arms, until, at the end of several days! he dropped into the water, and swam ashore. Throughout the whole ordeal, the chiefs and sages of the tribe critically observed the comparative fortitude and endurance of the candidates, and formed their conclusions thereupon as to which would be the worthiest to command in after time.

With all these frightful and hideous sights before his eyes, or fresh in his recollection, our author still maintains, and apparently upon good grounds, and in honest sincerity, his former eulogium upon the virtues and natural, noble endowments of these singular people. We have given, above, but a brief outline of the mysterious conjurations attendant upon the great annual festival: many of these lack interest from our ignorance of their signification.

A favorite theme for theorists, ever since the early ages of American colonization, has been found in the endeavor to trace a descent from the followers of the Welsh voyager, Prince Madoc, to sundry Indian tribes of the west. Vague accounts of Indians of light complexion, who could speak and understand the Welsh language, are given by various early writers. They were generally located by the narrator in some indeterminate region west of the Mississippi, at a considerable distance above New Orleans, but no where near the Missouri.

It is to be regretted that these ancient accounts are so loose and uncertain, as there can be no doubt but that they are founded upon striking and important facts. A list of Mandan words, compared with Welsh of the same signification, has been made public by Mr. Catlin, in which the resemblance is so clear, that almost any theory would be more credible than that such affinity was accidental. This author traced remains of the peculiar villages of the Man-

dans nearly to the mouth of the Missouri, and describes others of similar character to the northward of Cincinnati.

He supposes that the adventurers, who sailed from Wales in the year 1170, and were never thenceforth heard from, after landing at Florida, or near the mouth of the Mississippi, made their way to Ohio; that they there became involved in hostilities with the natives, and were eventually all cut off, with the exception of the half-breeds who had sprung up from connection with the women of the country; that these half-breeds had at one time formed a powerful tribe, but had gradually been reduced to those whom we have described, and had removed or been driven farther and farther up the Missouri. The arguments upon which this hypothesis is based are drawn from a careful examination of ancient western fortifications; from physical peculiarities and the analogies in language above referred to; from certain arts of working in pottery, &c.; and from the remarkable and isolated position occupied by the tribe in question among hostile nations of indubitable aboriginal characteristics. The theory is, to say the least, plausible, and ably supported.

In the summer of 1838, the small-pox was communicated to the Mandans from some infected persons on board one of the steamers belonging to a company of fur-traders. So virulent was the disease, that in a few weeks it swept off the whole tribe, except a few who fell into the hands of their enemies, the Ricarees. One principal reason for the excessive mortality is said to have been, that hostile bands of Indians had beset the village, and the inhabitants were consequently unable to separate, or to place the infected in an isolated position.

The scene of death, lamentation, and terror is said by those who witnessed it to have been frightful in the extreme. Great numbers perished by leaping into the river, in the paroxysm of fever, being too weak to swim out.

Those who died in the village lay in heaps upon the floors of the huts. Of the few secured by the Ricarees who took possession of the depopulated village, nearly all were said to have been killed during some subsequent hostilities, so that now scarce a vestige of the tribe can be supposed to remain.

The Mandans were probably all congregated at their principal village at the time of the great calamity: the other village was situated two miles below, was a small settlement, and was used, as we are led to infer, merely for a temporary "*summer residence* for a few of the noted families."

Mr. Catlin adds the following items to his account of the annihilation of this interesting tribe: "There is yet a melancholy part of the tale to be told, relating to the ravages of this frightful disease in that country on the same occasion, as it spread to other contiguous tribes, the Minatarrees, the Knisteneaux, the Blackfeet, the Chayennes, and the Crows; amongst whom twenty-five thousand perished in the course of four or five months, which most appalling facts I got from Major Pilcher, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, from Mr. McKenzie, and others."

CHAPTER III.

THE SIOUX CONTINUED—THEIR MODE OF LIFE—MATERNAL AFFECTION—EXPOSURE OF THE AGED—THE FAMOUS QUARRY OF RED PIPE-STONE—NATURE OF THIS MATERIAL—INDIAN SUPERSTITIONS RESPECTING IT—THE BISON OR BUFFALO—HORSES OF THE INDIANS—VARIOUS MODES OF HUNTING THE BUFFALO—WASTEFUL DESTRUCTION OF THE HERDS.

THE Sioux proper, known among themselves and by other Indian tribes as Dahcotas, are one of the most extensively diffused nations of the west. From the Upper Mississippi, where they mingle with the northern race of Chippewas, to the Missouri, and far in the north-west towards the country of the Blackfeet, the tribes of this family occupy the boundless prairie.

Those living on the Mississippi and St. Peter's rely partially, as we have mentioned, upon agriculture, and their proximity to the white settlements has changed, and too often degraded their native character. The more distant tribes, subsisting almost entirely upon the flesh of the buffalo, clothed with skins, and using the native weapons of their race, still remain in a state of rude freedom and independence. Graphic descriptions of their wild life, their skill and dexterity in the chase, and innumerable amusing and striking incidents of travel, and portraitures of private and natural character, are to be found scattered through the pages of Catlin's interesting narrative.

One of the most remarkable and touching traits of character described by this author, as observable among the Sioux, is the strength of maternal affection. Infant children, according to the common custom of western Indians, are carried, for the first six or seven months of their existence, strapped immoveably to a board, the hands and arms being generally left at liberty. A hoop protects the

child's face from injury in case of a fall, and the whole apparatus is often highly ornamented with fringe and embroidery. This pack or cradle is provided with a broad band, which is passed round the forehead of the mother, sustaining the weight of the child pendant at her back. Those who have been most familiar with this mode of treatment generally approve of it as best suited to the life led by the Indian, and as in no way cruel to the child. After the infant has in some degree acquired the use of its limbs, it is freed from these incumbrances, and borne in the fold of the mother's blanket.

"If the infant dies during the time that is allotted to it to be carried in this cradle, it is buried, and the disconsolate mother fills the cradle with black quills and feathers, in the parts which the child's body had occupied, and in this way carries it around with her wherever she goes for a year or more, with as much care as if her infant were alive and in it; and she often lays or stands it against the side of the wigwam, where she is all day engaged with her needle-work, and chatting and talking to it as familiarly and affectionately as if it were her loved infant, instead of its shell, that she was talking to. So lasting and so strong is the affection of these women for the lost child, that it matters not how heavy or cruel their load, or how rugged the route they have to pass over, they will faithfully carry this, and carefully, from day to day, and even more strictly perform their duties to it, than if the child were alive and in it."—(*Letters and Notes of George Catlin.*)

What appears, at first glance, to be one of the most revolting and cruel customs of the migratory Sioux tribes, (a custom common to other western nations,) is the exposure of the old and infirm to perish, after they have become unable to keep up with the tribe. We are told, however, that dire necessity compels them to this course, unless they

would—more humanely, it is true—at once put an end to the lives of such unfortunates. The old sufferer not only assents to the proceeding, but generally suggests it, when conscious that he is too weak to travel, or to be of any further service among his people. With some slight protection over him, and a little food by his side, he is left to die, and be devoured by the wolves.

Certain tribes of this nation, far up the Missouri, are in the habit of performing various ceremonies of self-torture in their religious exercises, somewhat analogous to those of the Mandans, but seldom, if ever, are they carried to such an extent as we have described in treating of that tribe.

In the Sioux country, at the southern extremity of the high ridge, called the Coteau des Prairies, which separates the head-waters of the St. Peter's from the Missouri, is situated the far-famed quarry of red pipe-stone. Pipes of this formation are seen throughout the whole of the west, no other material being considered suitable. The district was formerly considered as a sort of neutral ground, where hostile tribes from far and near might harmoniously resort to supply the all-essential want of the Indian. Those versed in the mysteries of Indian heraldry have deciphered the distinguishing marks and escutcheons of a great number of western nations, inscribed upon adjacent rocks. Of late years the Sioux have affected a monopoly in the products of this quarry, and it was not without the most vehement opposition that Mr. Catlin and his companions, led by curiosity to visit the remote and celebrated place, were enabled to make their way through the Indian settlements fallen in with on the route.

Throngs of dusky warriors, at these stopping-places, would assemble to discuss, with great heat and excitement, the true motives of the strangers. The general impression seemed to be that the travellers were government agents, sent to survey the locality for the purpose of appro-

priation, and one and all expressed a determination to perish rather than relinquish their rights to this, their most valued place of resort.

The stone is obtained by digging to a depth of several feet in the prairie, at the foot of a precipitous wall of quartz rocks. The whole geological formation of that district is described as exceedingly singular, and the pipe-stone formation is, itself, entirely unique. This material is "harder than gypsum, and softer than carbonate of lime;" it is asserted that a precisely similar formation has been found at no other spot upon the globe. The component materials, according to the analysis of Mr. Catlin's specimens, by Dr. Jackson, of Boston, are as follows: "water, 8,4; silica, 48,2; alumina, 28,2; magnesia, 6,0; carbonate of lime, 2,6; peroxide of iron, 5,0; oxide of manganese, 0,6."

The Indians use the stone only in the manufacture of pipes; to apply it to any other use they esteem the most unheard-of sacrilege. From the affinity of its color to that of their own skins they draw some fanciful legend of its formation, at the time of the great deluge, out of the flesh of the perishing red men. They esteem it one of the choicest gifts of the Great Spirit.

The following extracts from the speeches of some Sioux chiefs, through whose village Mr. Catlin passed on his way to the quarry, may serve to exemplify the veneration with which the stone was regarded.

"You see," said one, (holding a red pipe to the side of his naked arm,) "that this pipe is a part of our flesh. The red men are a part of the red stone. ('How, how!')" an expression of strong approbation from the auditors.

"If the white men take away a piece of the red pipe-stone, it is a hole made in our flesh, and the blood will always run. We cannot stop the blood from running. ('How, how!') The Great Spirit has told us that the red

stone is only to be used for pipes, and through them we are to smoke to him. ('How!')"

The next speaker pronounced the stone to be priceless, as it was *medicine*. Another, after a preliminary vaunt of his own prowess, and worthiness to be listened to, proceeded: "We love to go to the Pipe-Stone, and get a piece for our pipes; but we ask the Great Spirit first. If the white men go to it, they will take it out, and not fill up the holes again, and the Great Spirit will be offended. ('How, how, how!')"

Another—"My friends, listen to me! what I am to say will be truth. ('How!') I bought a large piece of the pipe-stone, and gave it to a white man to make a pipe; he was our trader, and I wished him to have a good pipe. The next time I went to his store, I was unhappy when I saw that stone made into a dish! ('Eugh!')

"This is the way the white men would use the red pipe stone if they could get it. Such conduct would offend the Great Spirit, and make a red man's heart sick. ('How, how!')"

Many of the pipes in use among the Sioux, and formed of this material, are shaped with great labor and nicety, and often in very ingenious figures. Those intended for calumets or pipes of peace, are gorgeously decorated, but even those in ordinary use are generally made as ornamental as practicable. The cavity is drilled by means of a hard stick, with sand and water; the outer form, with the carvings and grotesque figures, is worked with a knife.

Various narcotic herbs and leaves, where tobacco is not to be obtained, are used for smoking, under the name of "knick-knick;" the same term is used among some southern Indians to denote a mixture of tobacco and sumach leaves.

In the far west, both among the Sioux and other wild tribes, as the hunt of the buffalo is by far the most import-

ant occupation of the men, we will devote some little space to a description of the habits of the animal, and the native modes of pursuing and destroying it. The buffalo, or bison of America, is found at the present day throughout no small portion of the vast unsettled country between our western frontier and the Rocky Mountains, from the southern parts of Texas to the cold and desolate regions of the north, even to latitude fifty-five degrees. No where are these animals more abundant, or in a situation more congenial to their increase, and the development of their powers, than in the western country of the Sioux. During certain seasons of the year, they congregate in immense herds, but are generally distributed over the country in small companies, wandering about in search of the best pasturage.

They have no certain routine of migration, although those whose occupation leads to a study of their movements can in some localities point out the general course of their trail; and this uncertainty renders the mode of subsistence depended upon by extensive western tribes of Indians exceedingly precarious.

The most valuable possessions of these races, and the most essential in the pursuit of the buffalo, are their horses. These useful auxiliaries are of the wild prairie breed, extensively spread over the western territory, the descendants of those originally brought over by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. They are small, but strong and hardy, and superior in speed to any other of the wild animals of the prairie. Numbers of them are kept about the encampment of the Indians, hobbled so as to prevent their straying away. Upon the open prairie the bison is generally pursued upon horseback, with the lance and bow and arrow. The short stiff bow is little calculated for accurate marksmanship, or for a distant shot: riding at full speed, the Indian generally waits till he has overtaken his prey, and discharges his arrow from the distance of a few feet.

The admirable training of the horse, to whom the rider is obliged to give loose rein as he approaches his object and prepares to inflict the deadly wound, is no less noticeable than the spirit and energy of the rider.

Such is the force with which the arrow is thrown, that repeated instances are related of its complete passage through the huge body of the buffalo, and its exit upon the opposite side. This near approach to the powerful and infuriated animal is by no means without danger. Although the horse, from instinctive fear of the buffalo's horns, sheers off immediately upon passing him, it is not always done with sufficient quickness to avoid his stroke. The hunter is said to be so carried away by the excitement and exhilaration of pursuit, as to be apparently perfectly reckless of his own safety; trusting entirely to the sagacity and quickness of his horse to take him out of the danger into which he is rushing.

The noose, or lasso, used in catching wild horses, is often left trailing upon the ground during the chase, to afford the hunter an easy means of securing and remounting his horse in case he should be dismounted, by the attack of the buffalo or otherwise.

In the winter season it is common for the Indians of the northern latitudes to drive the buffalo herds from the bare ridges, where they collect to feed upon the exposed herbage, into the snow-covered valleys. The unwieldy beasts, as they flounder through the drifts, are easily overtaken by the hunters, supported by their snow-shoes, and killed with the lance or bow. Another method, adopted by the Indians, is to put on the disguise of a white wolf-skin, and steal unsuspected among the herd, where they can select their prey at leisure. Packs of wolves frequently follow the herds, to feed upon the carcasses of those that perish, or the remains left by the hunters. They dare not attack them in a body, and are consequently no objects of

terror to the buffaloes; but, should an old or wounded animal be separated from the company, they collect around him, and gradually weary him out and devour him.

When buffalo are plenty, and the Indians have fair opportunity, the most astonishing and wasteful slaughter ensues. Besides the ordinary methods of destruction, the custom of driving immense herds over some precipitous ledge, where those behind trample down and thrust over the foremost, until hundreds and thousands are destroyed, has been often described.

Even at seasons in which the fur is valueless, and little besides a present supply of food can be obtained by destroying the animal which constitutes their sole resource, no spirit of forethought or providence restrains the wild hunters of the prairie. Mr. Catlin, when at the mouth of Teton river, Upper Missouri, in 1832, was told that a few days previous to his arrival, a party of Sioux had returned from a hunt, bringing fourteen hundred buffalo tongues, all that they had secured of their booty, and that these were immediately traded away for a few gallons of whiskey.

This author goes, at considerable length, into a calculation of the causes now at work, which must, in his opinion, necessarily result in the entire extinction of these animals, and the consequent destitution of the numerous tribes that derive support from their pursuit. According to his representations, we "draw from that country one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand of their robes annually, the greater part of which are taken from animals that are killed expressly for the robe, at a season when the meat is not cured and preserved, and for each of which skins the Indian has received but a pint of whiskey!

Such is the fact, and that number, or near it, are annually destroyed, in addition to the number that is necessarily killed for the subsistence of three hundred thousand Indians, who live entirely upon them."

When this extermination shall have taken place, if, indeed, it should take place before other causes shall have annihilated the Indian nations of the west, it is difficult to conceive to what these will resort for subsistence. Will they gradually perish from sheer destitution, or, as has been predicted, will they be driven to violence and plunder upon our western frontier?

CHAPTER IV.

INDIANS OF THE GREAT WESTERN PRAIRIES—THEIR SUMMER AND WINTER LODGES—THE MEDICINE-BAG—THE CROWS AND BLACKFEET—RACES HOSTILE TO THE LATTER TRIBE—FORTITUDE OF A BLACKFOOT WARRIOR—THE CROW CHIEF ARAPOOISH AND HIS GUEST—INDIAN CONCEPTIONS OF A PERFECT COUNTRY—STORY OF LORETTO AND HIS INDIAN WIFE—ADVENTURES OF KOSATO, A BLACKFOOT WARRIOR.

Upon the Yellowstone, and about the head-waters of the Missouri, the most noted tribes are the Crows and Blackfeet. Bordering upon them at the north and northeast, are their enemies, the Ojibbeways, Knisteneaux, and Assinaboins, of some of whom brief mention has been made in former chapters. In 1834 the Blackfeet were computed to number over thirty thousand, but when the small-pox swept over the western country, in 1838, they were frightfully reduced. By the returns of 1850, they were represented as amounting to about thirteen thousand.

As these Indians are among the farthest removed from the contaminating influence of the whites, and as the prairie abounds in all that is requsite for their subsistence, viz: horses and buffalo, they present fine specimens of the aboriginal race. They are of manly proportions, active,

and capable of great endurance: their dress is particularly comfortable and ornamental, bedecked with all the embroidery and fringes characteristic of savage finery.

The style of dress, dwellings, means of subsistence, &c., among the Indians of the western prairies, is in many respects so similar, that we shall only avoid wearisome repetition by omitting minute descriptions in speaking of the different tribes.

The summer lodge, necessarily made moveable to suit their migratory habits, is a tent of buffalo-skins, supported by pine poles brought from the distant mountains. These skins are neatly and substantially stitched together, and often highly painted and ornamented. The tent is transported by tying the poles in two bundles, the small ends of which, bound together, are hung over the shoulders of a horse, while the butts trail upon the ground, loaded with the weight of the skins and other paraphernalia of the lodge. The dogs are also pressed into the same service, and loaded, in much the same manner, with as large a load as they can carry.

The cold winter is passed in some spot protected by high bluffs or heavy timber, either in these skin lodges, or in rude wigwams of logs.

It is among these remote races that we may still see many of the ancient superstitious observances (formerly, with slight variation, common to nearly the whole population of the west,) retained with all their original solemnity. One of the most singular and universal is the preparation of a "medicine-bag," which every man carries with him upon all occasions, as being intricately involved with his own safety and success in war, hunting, or any of the occupations of life. At about the age of puberty the Indian boy bethinks himself of taking the necessary steps for the preparation of this mysterious amulet or charm. He retires to some solitary spot, where he spends several



INDIAN ENCAMPMENT WEST OF THE MISSISSIPI



days, lying upon the ground, taking no nourishment, and employed in continual fervent invocations to the Great Spirit. Falling asleep in this condition, he notes particularly what bird or animal first occurred to his mind in dreams. He then returns home, and, after recruiting his strength, busies himself in the pursuit of the creature until he has secured a specimen. This accomplished, he dresses the skin, stuffs it with moss or some other light substance, and devotes his attention to decorating it with the most elaborate ornament.

This medicine-bag can be procured at no price, and the loss of it, even in the heat of battle, is a signal disgrace, only to be wiped out by the seizure of a similar charm from a slaughtered enemy. "These curious appendages," says Catlin, "to the persons or wardrobe of an Indian, are sometimes made of the skin of an otter, a beaver, a musk rat, a weazel, a racoon, a pole-cat, a snake, a frog, a toad, a bat, a mouse, a mole, a hawk, an eagle, a magpie, or a sparrow;—sometimes of the skin of an animal so large as a wolf; and at others, of the skins of the lesser animals, so small that they are hidden under the dress, and very difficult to be found, even if searched for."

The strange and hideous conjurations of the medicine-men or necromancers, who perform their ceremonies about the sick or dying with a view to their relief, may be here seen in their utmost extravagance.

The Crows are far inferior in numbers to the Blackfeet, with whom they are engaged in perpetual warfare. They inhabit the country adjacent to the Yellowstone, as far westward as the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They are a fine race, physically speaking; their average height is greatly beyond that of any of the neighboring tribes, and they are models of activity and strength. They have been characterized as a lawless, thieving horde of savages; but those best acquainted with their character and disposition,

speak of them as honest and trust-worthy, and excuse the depredations of which they have from time to time been guilty, as having generally resulted from gross provocation. From whatever cause, and whichever race may have been the most in fault, it is certain that the two wild tribes of which we are now speaking have been, from the earliest periods in which Europeans have penetrated their territory, objects of terror to traders and trappers.

One distinguishing peculiarity of these Indians, is the extraordinary length of their hair, which is cherished and cultivated as an ornament, until it sweeps the ground after them. This profusion is to be seen in no tribe except the Crows, although some of their neighbors endeavor to imitate it, by glueing an additional length to their natural hair.

The Crows speak a different language from the Blackfeet, and, as we have mentioned, are continually at war with that tribe. They only number about four thousand, and are consequently at great disadvantage in these hostilities.

The smaller Minitari tribes, between the mouth of the Yellowstone and the site of the Mandan villages, and the extensive nation of the Gros Ventres, inhabiting the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, speak the same language with the Crows, or one very nearly allied to it. The Arapahoes, numbering some three thousand, and dwelling about the sources of the Platte and Arkansas rivers, belong to the race of the Blackfeet.

The latter nation, besides their enemies at the East, have had, from an indefinite period, to contend with the Flathead and other tribes still farther westward. The descent of these remote bands upon the plains in pursuit of buffalo, has ever been deemed by the Blackfeet a signal infringement of their rights, and fierce battles often result from the conflicting claims of the rival nations. Although other game abounds in the mountain districts inhabited

by some of these tribes, nothing possesses such attractions for them as the buffalo-hunt, and they are ready to incur any peril rather than relinquish this favorite pursuit.

The Nez-Percés or Pierced-Nose Indians, the Flat-heads, and the Pends Oreilles or Hanging Ears, of the Rocky Mountains and their western slopes, and of the plains drained by the sources of the Columbia, are at continual and deadly feud with the Blackfeet. These latter seem, indeed, to have their hands against every man, with the exception of their kindred Arapahoes, to whom they make periodical visits of friendship.

Of the skirmishes between war-parties of these hostile tribes, their forays into each other's territory, and the exploits of their most redoubted warriors, many striking tales are told by the traders and trappers who visit these remote regions. In Mr. Irving's admirable publication, "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A., in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West," arranged in the form of interesting and pleasing narrative, from the captain's manuscripts and other sources, are details of various incidents illustrative of the character and habits of these tribes, so told as to attract the attention of the reader, and to leave a vivid impression upon the mind.

In Cox's "Adventures on the Columbia River," frightful descriptions are given of the cruelties practiced by the Flat-heads upon some Blackfoot prisoners who had fallen into their hands. Such proceedings appeared utterly variant from the natural disposition of those Indians, and only serve to show to what lengths usage, a spirit of retaliation, and natural antipathy, may carry a people whose general character is gentle and kindly.

The author particularly describes the endurance of one of the Blackfoot braves, upon whom every species of torture was tried in vain attempts to overcome his fortitude. He exulted over his tormentors, vaunting his own deeds

in the following language: "'My heart is strong.—You do not hurt me.—You can't hurt me.—You are fools.—You do not know how to torture.—Try it again.—I don't feel any pain yet.—We torture your relations a great deal better, because we make them cry out loud, like little children.—You are not brave; you have small hearts, and you are always afraid to fight.' Then, addressing one in particular, he said, 'It was by my arrow you lost your eye;' upon which the Flat-head darted at him, and with a knife, in a moment scooped out one of his eyes; at the same time, cutting the bridge of his nose nearly in two. This did not stop him: with the remaining eye he looked sternly at another, and said, "I killed *your* brother, and I scalped your old fool of a father.' The warrior to whom this was addressed instantly sprung at him, and severed the scalp from his head."

The chief restrained this enraged warrior from terminating the sufferings of the victim by a blow; but was, himself, immediately afterwards so exasperated by his taunts and insults, that he could not withhold his own hand, and shot the mangled wretch through the heart.

Of the Crow character, a very singular trait is exhibited in an adventure of a noted trapper, Mr. Robert Campbell, as given in Mr. Irving's work, above mentioned. This traveller was upon one occasion hospitably entertained by the celebrated Crow chief, Arapooish, in whose tent he had deposited a large bundle of valuable furs. The greater part of his stores was buried in the ground for safety.

The old chief ascertained, during Campbell's stay, that his guest had made a "cache," (the French term applied to such places of concealment,) and that some of his own tribe had discovered and plundered it. The number of beaver-skins stolen was one hundred and fifty.

Arapooish immediately assembled all the men of the village, and after making a speech, in which he vehemently

declaimed against their bad faith towards the stranger, vowed that he would neither touch food nor drink until complete restoration should be made. He then took his seat with the trapper in his wigwam, and awaited the result, desiring his companion to make no remarks if the skins were brought, but simply to keep account of them.

More than a hundred of the stolen articles were brought in before night, but notwithstanding Campbell's expressions of satisfaction, the old Indian would neither eat nor drink throughout that night and the next day. The skins slowly made their appearance, "one and two at a time throughout the day; until but a few were wanting to make the number complete. Campbell was now anxious to put an end to this fasting of the old chief, and again declared that he was perfectly satisfied. Arapooish demanded what number of skins were yet wanting. On being told, he whispered to some of his people, who disappeared. After a time the number were brought in, though it was evident they were not any of the skins that had been stolen, but others gleaned in the village."

Arapooish then broke his fast, and gave his guest much wholesome advice, charging him always, when he visited a Crow village to put himself and his goods under protection of the chief. Of Campbell's conclusions upon the character of the race, Mr. Irving says: "He has ever since maintained that the Crows are not so black as they have been painted. 'Trust to their honor,' says he, 'and you are safe; trust to their honesty, and they will steal the hair off your head.'"

The manner in which old Arapooish enlarged upon the natural advantages of the Crow country in conversation with Mr. Campbell is too quaint to be passed over. He averred that it was located in precisely the right spot for the security of all that was desirable in life, and the avoidance of its usual trials and wants. He enlarged upon the

cold of the north, where dogs must take the place of horses; and upon the barren and arid plains of the south, replete with pestilential vapors. At the west, he said, "On the Columbia, they are poor and dirty, paddle about in canoes, and eat fish. Their teeth are worn out; they are always taking fish-bones out of their mouths. Fish is poor food.

"To the east, they dwell in villages; they live well; but they drink the muddy water of the Missouri—that is bad. A Crow's dog would not drink such water.

"About the forks of the Missouri is a fine country; good water; good grass; plenty of buffalo. In summer it is almost as good as the Crow country; but in winter it is cold; the grass is gone; and there is no salt-weed for the horses."—(*Bonneville's Adventures.*)

Then followed an enthusiastic enumeration of the blessings enjoyed by the Crows; the variety of climate; the abundance of game; the winter resources for man and beast; and the relief from the heat of summer afforded by the cool breezes and fresh springs of the mountains.

In a former chapter, we have devoted some little space to illustrations, from Mr. Catlin's letters, of the strength of parental affection among the Western Indians, particularly the Sioux: in the work last cited are numerous anecdotes exemplifying, in a manner equally forcible, the enduring and powerful attachment often noticeable between the sexes; and this not only among the Indians alone, but where they have intermarried with whites.

One of these instances was as follows: "Among the free trappers in the Rocky Mountain band was a spirited young Mexican, named Loretto; who, in the course of his wanderings, had ransomed a beautiful Blackfoot girl from a band of Crows, by whom she had been captured. He made her his wife, after the Indian style, and she had followed his fortunes ever since with the most devoted affection."

The company, one day, fell in with a numerous party

of Blackfoot warriors, and the preliminary steps were taken for a parley, and for smoking the calumet, in token of peace. At this moment, Loretto's Indian wife perceived her own brother among the band. "Leaving her infant with Loretto, she rushed forward and threw herself upon her brother's neck; who clasped his long-lost sister to his heart, with a warmth of affection but little compatible with the reputed stoicism of the savage."

Meanwhile, Bridger, one of the trapper leaders, approaching the Blackfeet, from an imprudent excess of caution, cocked his rifle just as he came up with them. The Indian chief, who was in the act of proffering a friendly salutation, heard the click of the lock, and all his native fury and suspicion were instantly aroused. He sprang upon Bridger, forced the muzzle of the rifle into the ground, where it was discharged, knocked him down, seized his horse, and rode off. A general, but disorderly fight ensued, during which Loretto's wife was hurried away by her relations.

The noble young Mexican saw her in their power, vainly entreating permission to return, and, regardless of the danger incurred, at once hastened to her side, and restored the child to its mother. The Blackfeet braves admired his boldness, and respected the confidence which he had reposed in them by thus venturing in their midst, but they were deaf to all the prayers of himself and his wife that they might remain together. He was dismissed unharmed, but the woman and child were detained.

Not many months afterwards the faithful Loretto procured his discharge from the company in whose service he was enlisted, and followed his wife to her own country. A happy rëunion took place, and the loving pair took up their residence at a trading-house among the Blackfeet, where the husband served as interpreter between the Indians and white traders.

Another tale of Indian love and rivalry is that of a Blackfoot warrior, named Kosato, residing among the Nez-Percés when that tribe was visited by Bonneville.

He had fallen in love with the wife of a chief of his own tribe, and his affection was returned. According to his own positive asseverations, although they "talked together—laughed together—and were always seeking each other's society," they were "as innocent as children."

The jealousy of the husband was at last completely aroused, and he visited his vengeance upon both the offending parties. The wife was cruelly beaten, and sternly bid not even to bestow a look upon Kosato, while the youth himself suffered the loss of all his horses, upon which the chief had seized. Maddened with love and revenge, Kosato waited his opportunity; slew the object of his hate; and hastened to entreat his mistress to fly with him. At first she only wept bitterly, but finally, overcome by his persuasions, and the promptings of her own affection, she forsook her people, and sought, with her lover, an asylum among the peaceful and kindly Nez-Percés.

Kosato was foremost in rousing up a warlike and manly spirit among the tribe of his adoption, but he found the disposition of his new allies far different from that of the hot-blooded Blackfeet and Crows. "They are good and kind," said he to Bonneville; "they are honest; but their hearts are the hearts of women."

From these and numberless similar tales, it is sufficiently evident that the cloak of reserve in which the Indian wraps himself from the scrutiny of strangers, covers passions and affections as fiery and impetuous as are to be witnessed in more demonstrative races.



THE BISON

GENERALLY CALLED THE BUFFALO.

The huge animals, whose general conformation is accurately represented in the above sketch, wander in herds of countless numbers, over the wilderness and prairies of the far West. As game, they are invaluable to the Indians, both for their flesh and the skins which form so considerable an article of traffic in the towns of the East.

The bisons scatter widely over the priaries when feeding, but when they take up their line of march, upon their periodical migrations, the whole herd proceeds in a compact mass, offering an easy opportunity for the most wasteful slaughter.

The animal was formerly found as far East as the Hudson river, and Morton speaks of the descriptions given by the Indians of "great heards of well growne beasts that live about the parts of this lake (Ontario), such as the Christian world (untile this discovery) hath not been made acquainted with."





THE GRIZZLY BEAR.

No animal, upon the whole continent of America, is so dangerous and ferocious as the one here depicted. M. Boitard, in his "Pantheon Populaire," a description of the animals of the Jardin des Plantes, from which work the above sketch is taken, says: "The grizzly bear joins to the stupidity of the bear the ferocity of the jaguar, the courage of the tiger, and the strength of the lion. Of solitary habits, like other species of his race, he roams over the vast Indian territory of the North-west, inhabited by the wandering nations of the Back-Feet, Nes Percés, Kansas, Crows, &c."

Astonishing tales are told of the prodigious strength, and implacable fury of this animal. The huge bison is helpless in his grasp, and it is a common saying that, if a hunter comes within his reach, one of the two must die. The Indian hunters display great courage and resolution in the pursuit of this terrible enemy; an undertaking entered upon rather from pride and the hope of renown than from expectation of profit.

CHAPTER V.

TRIBES ON THE COLUMBIA AND ITS TRIBUTARIES—THE NEZ-PERCÉS —THEIR RELIGIOUS CHARACTER—THE WALLA-WALLAS—THE CHINOOKS—MODE OF FLATTENING THE HEAD—THE BOTOQUE—CANOES OF THE TRIBES ON THE LOWER WATERS OF THE COLUMBIA—FISHING—HOUSES OF THE FLAT-HEADS.

THE principal tribe dwelling within the vast ampitheatre drained by the Kooskooske, westward from the Blackfoot country, and across the Rocky Mountains, is that of the Nez-Percés or Pierced-Nose Indians. Proceeding down the river, we find numerous tribes, known, collectively, as Flat-heads, although the physical peculiarity from which they derive their name is by no means universal.

Upon the main southern branch, the Lewis Fork of the Columbia, or Snake river, dwell the Shoshonees, or Snake Indians, a race perhaps more widely disseminated than any other of the present descendants of the North American aborigines.

The Nez-Percés are, as mentioned in a preceding chapter, a quiet, inoffensive people, although, when fairly aroused, they are not wanting in courage and efficiency. Their susceptibility to religious impressions is remarkable, and their patient reliance upon and sincere invocations to the Great Spirit, in times of want or danger, might shame the most enlightened nation.

In a time of great scarcity, Captain Bonneville fell in with a party of these Indians, in a state of the utmost destitution. They were subsisting upon wild rose-buds, roots, and other crude and innutritious food, and their only weapon was a single spear. With this they finally set out, on horse-back, upon what appeared to the whites an utterly hopeless expedition in search of game. They rode

off, however, with cheerful confidence that their prayers would now be heard by the Great Spirit. The undertaking was successful, and the poor Indians freely shared the meat which they had secured among the hungry whites.

The kind-hearted captain, from long observation of their character, became more and more enthusiastic in his admiration of the simplicity, benevolence, and piety of the tribe. Some rude conceptions of Christian doctrines and observances had, in earlier times, been disseminated among them, and they eagerly listened to such instruction upon these topics as Captain Bonneville was enabled to convey. In his own words: "Simply to call these people religious, would convey but a faint idea of the deep hue of piety and devotion which pervades their whole conduct. Their honesty is immaculate, and their purity of purpose, and their observance of the rites of their religion, are most uniform and remarkable. They are certainly more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages."

There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower: the first of these is that to which particular allusion has heretofore been made in connection with Blackfoot hostilities. The Indians of the lower tribe subsist upon fish, and upon deer, elk, and other game of their own country.

Bonneville gives them almost as good a character as their brethren, the upper tribe, pronouncing them "one of the purest-hearted people on the face of the earth." Other travellers and traders, who, probably in consequence of their own unscrupulous villany, have experienced different treatment at the hands of these Indians, naturally enough set them down as dishonest and inhospitable. As one instance of their generosity and kind-heartedness: the captain's horse was recognized by one of the tribe as having formerly been stolen from himself. He proved ownership incontestibly, but voluntarily relinquished his claim,

saying: "You got him in fair trade—you are more in want of horses than I am: keep him; he is yours—he is a good horse; use him well."

Further westward, upon the banks of the Columbia, below the mouth of the Lewis Fork, are found the Wallawallas; they are not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits. They are kind towards strangers, and in their deportment exhibit great decency and decorum. They have plenty of horses, and maintain the same border warfare with the Shoshonees that their neighbors farther up the river are constantly waging with the Blackfeet. The cause of hostility is similar, viz: a claim of right of hunting within the hostile territory; in the one case, for the buffalo; in the other, for the black-tailed deer.

Passing over the Spokans, Cootonais, Chaudieres, Pointed Hearts, &c., &c., we will describe a little more at large the Chinooks, Flat-heads in reality, as in name, who dwell about the lower portions of the Columbia. The horrible deformity of the skull, which constitutes their chief physical peculiarity, is produced by pressure upon the forehead of the infant while the bone is soft and pliable. The child is stretched upon its back, after the usual Indian fashion, and a bit of board or bark is so secured by strings that it can be tightened at pleasure, creating a steady pressure until the head is so flattened that a straight line can be drawn from the tip of the nose to the unnatural apex. The operation occupies from a few weeks to a year, or more, at the end of which time the skull is hardened, and never thereafter resumes its natural shape. The thickness of the broad ridge at the back of the head is little over an inch.

This extensive displacement of the brain does not, as far as travellers have observed, effect any noticeable change in the faculties of the mind. It is an unaccountable custom, and is persisted in as being an improvement upon nature; perhaps from the same ideal that suggested the

retreating forehead characteristic of the ancient sculptures of Egypt and Central America. Various tribes and nations of America were formerly in the habit of flattening the head, who have long since ceased so to mar their fair proportions. Even in South America, as we shall see hereafter, skulls are still found bearing evident marks of this hideous distortion.

Exclusive of the head, there is little particularly noticeable about the personal appearance of the Indians of the lower Columbia. The description given of them, particularly of their women, is by no means attractive. It would seem, from one of Mr. Catlin's illustrations, that a singular custom, generally considered as peculiar to the Brazilian Botocudos, is occasionally observable among them. He gives a sketch of a woman whose under-lip is pierced, and the aperture filled with a large wooden plug or button (termed the "botoque" in South America).

Their most successful advance in the arts, is seen in the manufacture of their canoes. These, according to the description given in the history of Lewis and Clarke's travels, are often "upwards of fifty feet long, and will carry from eight to ten thousand pounds weight, or from twenty to thirty persons. * * They are cut out of a single trunk of a tree, which is generally white cedar, though the fir is sometimes used. * * When they embark, one Indian sits in the stern, and steers with a paddle; the others kneel in pairs in the bottom of the canoe, and, sitting on their heels, paddle over the gunwale next to them. In this way they ride with perfect safety the highest waves, and venture without the least concern in seas where other boats and seamen could not live an instant. They sit quietly and paddle, with no other movement, except when any large wave throws the boat on her side, and to the eye of the spectator she seems lost: the man to windward then steadies her by throwing his body towards

the upper side, and, sinking his paddle deep into the waves, appears to catch the water, and force it under the boat, which the same stroke pushes on with great velocity."

They subsist principally upon fish, in taking which they are very expert. Their nets are made of silk-grass, or of the fibrous bark of the white cedar, as are also the lines used for angling. The hooks are procured from white traders, but in earlier times were manufactured from bone. Their houses are described as large and commodious: some of them are said by Cox to be "upwards of ninety feet long, and thirty to forty broad." The size of the beams used in the construction of these edifices, as well as that of the trunks of trees worked into canoes, is almost incredible, considering the miserable tools and implements in their possession previous to European intercourse.

Their household furniture and utensils are rude and simple; in their primitive condition they boiled their fish in kettles of cedar wood, by means of heated stones thrown into the water. The fire-place is a hole sunk in the floor, to the depth of about twelve inches, under the aperture in the roof left for the escape of smoke.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SHOSHONEES, OR SNAKE INDIANS—THE SHOSHOKOES, OR ROOT-DIGGERS—EXTENT OF COUNTRY OCCUPIED BY THE SNAKES—THE CAMANCHES: THEIR HORSEMANSHIP, MODE OF LIFE, DWELLINGS, ETC.—THE PAWNEE PICTS—THE NABAJOS AND MOQUES.

UNDER various names, and presenting a great variety in habits and appearance, according to the nature of the country they inhabit, the great race of Shoshonees is found scattered over the boundless wilderness, from Texas to the

Columbia. Their territory is bounded on the north and west by that of their hereditary enemies, the Blackfeet and Crows, the tribes allied to the great Dacotah or Sioux family, and the Indians removed westward from the United States.

Those who dwell amid the rugged and inhospitable regions of the great Rocky Mountain chain, known as Shoshokoes or Root-Diggers, are the most destitute and miserable portion of all the North American tribes. They have no horses, and nothing but the rudest native implements for securing game. They are harmless, and exceedingly timid and shy, choosing for their dwellings the most remote and unexplored retreats of the mountains, whither they fly in terror at the approach of strangers, whether whites or Indians. "These forlorn beings," says Irving, "forming a mere link between human nature and the brute, have been looked down upon with pity and contempt by the Creole trappers, who have given them the appellation of '*les dignes de pitie*,' or 'the objects of pity.' They appear more worthy to be called the wild-men of the mountains."

Although living in a climate where they experience great severity of cold, these miserable people are very insufficiently protected either by clothing or comfortable huts. Of a party seen by Bonneville upon the plain below Powder River, that traveller remarks: "They live without any further protection from the inclemency of the season, than a sort of break-weather, about three feet high, composed of sage, (or wormwood,) and erected around them in the shape of a half-moon." This material also furnishes them with fuel. Many were seen carrying about with them a slow match, made of twisted bark. "Whenever they wished to warm themselves, they would gather together a little wormwood, apply the match, and in an instant produce a cheering blaze."

They live principally, as their name implies, upon roots and a preparation of certain wild seeds; but by the aid of their dogs—a lean and miserable breed—they catch rabbits and other small animals. They occasionally take antelopes by the following singular contrivance: An inclosure of several acres in extent is formed by piling up a row of wormwood brush, only about three feet in height. Into this the game is decoyed or driven and the entrance closed. The men then pursue the animals on foot, round and round the confined space, (fresh recruits entering upon the duty as the first become weary), until they are completely tired down, and can be killed with clubs. The antelopes never attempt to leap over the frail barrier.

Those Shoshokoes who live in the vicinity of streams, add to their supplies by fishing, and some of them are sufficiently skilful and provident to cure stores of fish for winter; but in general the season of scarcity finds them wretchedly unprovided. "They were destitute," says Bonneville, of a party encountered by him, "of the necessary covering to protect them from the weather; and seemed to be in unsophisticated ignorance of any other propriety or advantage in the use of clothing. One old dame had absolutely nothing on her person but a thread round her neck, from which was pendant a solitary bead."

The Shoshonees, as distinct from the Root-Diggers, although their condition varies greatly with their locality, are a free, bold, and wandering race of hunters. In the buffalo plains their life is much like that of the Sioux, Blackfeet, Crows, &c.; while in the less favored districts, among the mountains and deserts, they approach more nearly to their kindred Shoshokoes. The country inhabited by them is of such vast extent, and has been so imperfectly explored, that material for accurate classification of the Snake tribes is entirely wanting. Very interesting descriptions and anecdotes of these Indians are to be

found in Colonel Frémont's notes of travel and explorations; in Mr. Schoolcraft's valuable compend of Indian historical and statistical information; and in the entertaining adventures of Captain Bonneville.

The whole region tenanted by the roving tribes who are included under the general title of Snakes, is thus laid down in Schoolcraft's above-mentioned publication: exclusive of those residing upon the Snake river, "they embrace all the territory of the Great South Pass, between the Mississippi valley and the waters of the Columbia, by which the land or caravan communication with Oregon and California is now, or is destined hereafter, to be maintained. * * Under the name of Yampatick-ara, or Root-Eaters, and Bonacks, they occupy, with the Utahs, the vast elevated basin of the Great Salt Lake, extending south and west to the borders of New Mexico and California. Information recently received denotes that the language is spoken by bands in the gold-mine region of the Sacramento."

The most noted branch of the whole family is that of the Camanches, "who have descended eastwardly into the Texan plains at unknown periods of their history." Analogy in language is all that attests the former unity of this nation with the Shoshonees.

The Camanches inhabit a country where bisons and wild horses abound, and their general habits and mode of life are consequently very similar to those of the western Sioux and other races of the prairies. As bold and skillful riders, they are said to have no equals, at least in North America; some of their feats of horsemanship appear almost supernatural to a stranger. One of the most singular of these is that of throwing the whole body upon one side of the horse, so as to be entirely shielded from the missile of an enemy, with the exception of the heel, by which they still maintain their hold, and are enabled to



rēgain their seat in an instant. The manner in which this seemingly impossible position is retained, was ascertained by Mr. Catlin to be as follows: "I found," says he, "on examination, that a short hair halter was passed around under the neck of the horse, and both ends tightly braided into the mane, on the withers, leaving a loop to hang under the neck, and against the breast, which, being caught up in the hand, makes a sling into which the elbow falls, taking the weight of the body on the middle of the upper arm. Into this loop the rider drops suddenly and fearlessly, leaving his heel to hang over the back of the horse, to steady him, and also to restore him when he wishes to rēgain his upright position on the horse's back."

The Indian rider, as he sweeps, at full speed, past his enemy, in this unnatural attitude, is said to manage his long lance, and his bow and arrow, with nearly the same facility as if fairly mounted. He will discharge his arrow over the back of the horse, or even his neck! The Camanches, from constant horse-back exercise, have lost that agility and grace which characterize the North American Indian, in his natural state. They are awkward and ungainly in their movements when on foot, but when mounted upon the animals that have become almost a part of themselves, nothing can exceed the lightness and freedom of their posture and movements. The wild horses are taken, as usual, by the lasso, and are at first disabled by being "choked down," as it is termed. When the hunter has thus conquered and enfeebled his prize, he proceeds to tie his fore feet together, and, loosening the noose about his neck, takes a turn with it about the lower jaw, and completes the subjection of the animal by closing his eyes with his hand and breathing in his nostrils. After this, little difficulty is experienced; the horse submits to be mounted, and is soon entirely under the control of his tormentor. The Indians are severe and cruel riders, and the ease of

supplying the loss of a horse prevents that regard for his safety and care for his welfare elsewhere furnished by self-interest.

The Camanches are essentially a warlike race, and the whole history of the settlement and occupation of Texas is replete with tales of their courage and prowess. There seems to be reason to fear that difficulties will still continue to arise between them and the white settlers of the country until the whole tribe, like so many in the older states, shall be driven from their territory or exterminated. Almost the only man who has ever been able to command their enduring admiration and respect, and to exercise a parental control over these wild rovers of the west, is the redoubted champion of Texan independence, General Houston. Numberless tales are told of the influence of his presence, or even his name, in quieting border troubles between whites and Indians. No one knows the Camanches better than Houston, and he gives abundant testimony to many excellent traits in their character. According to his representations, the generality of disturbances which have arisen upon their borders are attributable rather to injustice and violence, on the part of the white settlers, than to the native ferocity or treachery of the Indians.

The dwellings of the Camanches, like those of other prairie tribes, consist of tents of buffalo-skins, and are transported from place to place in the manner described in a former chapter. The tribe next adjoining them, the Pawnee Picts, living about the extreme head-waters of the Red River, on the borders of the Rocky Mountains, inhabit wigwams of poles thatched with prairie-grass, of very picturesque form and arrangement. These people are said to be entirely distinct from the Pawnees on the Platte river; they are in a state of friendly alliance with the Camanches. Unlike the latter tribe, they cultivate large

quantities of maize, beans, pumpkins, &c., and, what with their abundant supply of game, enjoy no little prosperity.

In New Mexico, besides the Utahs, Apaches, and other Indian tribes heretofore mentioned, are two very singular communities: the Nabajos and Moques. The first of these lead a pastoral life between the rivers San Juan and Gila. They are spoken of in a communication of Governor Charles Bent, in 1846, as "an industrious, intelligent, and warlike tribe of Indians, who cultivate the soil, and raise sufficient grain and fruits of various kinds for their own consumption. They are the owners of large flocks and herds of cattle, sheep, horses, mules, and asses. It is estimated, that the tribe possesses 30,000 head of horned cattle, 500,000 head of sheep, and 10,000 head of horses, mules, and asses. * * They manufacture excellent coarse blankets, and coarse woolen goods for wearing apparel. * * * They have in their possession many men, women, and children, taken from the settlements of this territory, whom they hold and treat as slaves. * * The Moques are neighbours of the Nabajos, and live in permanent villages, cultivate grain and fruits, and raise all the varieties of stock."—(*Schoolcraft's Historical and Statistical Information concerning the Indian Tribes*).

The Nabajos number from seven to fourteen thousand souls; the Moques between two and three thousand. The two tribes are at enmity with each other, and the Moques have been, by this cause, much reduced.

The following description of the personal appearance of these Indians, (their names being corrupted into "Nabbehoes," and "Mawkeys,") is cited by McIntosh, in his "Origin of the North American Indians," from the Western Democrat: we cannot undertake to vouch for its accuracy. After describing the location of the smaller tribes,

the article proceeds: "Not far distant from the Mawkeys, and in the same range of country, is another band of the same description, called Nabbehoes, a description of either of these tribes, will answer for both. They have been described to the writer by two men in whose veracity the fullest confidence may be placed: they say the men are of the common stature, with light flaxen hair, light-blue eyes, and that their skin is of the most delicate whiteness."

INDIAN POPULATION

OF THE

UNITED STATES AND TERRITORY.

According to the census taken, under the agency of Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, in pursuance of the act of Congress passed in March, 1847, the following returns were made of the numbers of the Indian tribes subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

The grand total was set down at 388,229, and about 30,000 more was considered a probable estimate of tribes inhabiting districts yet unexplored. The "Ultimate Consolidated Tables of the Indian Population of the United States," containing the results of the proposed investigation, are given substantially as follows, in Schoolcraft's "History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States:"

1. "Tribes whose vital and industrial statistics have been taken by Bands and Families, under the direction of the act of Congress," including Iroquois, Algonquins, Appalachians, and Eastern Sioux, ... 34,704

2. "Tribes of the new States and Territories, South and West, including the acquisitions from Mexico, under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," viz: of Texas, New Mexico, California, Oregon, Utah, and Florida, and consisting of Camanches, Apaches, Utahs, Shoshonees or Snake Indians, &c. 183,042

3. Tribes between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, to the northward of Texas and New Mexico, viz:

Assinaboins, south of lat. 49 deg.	1,000	Miamies,	500
Arapahoes,	3,500	Missouris,	500
Absarokes, or Crows,	4,000	Munsees,	200
Aurickarees,	1,500	Ottawas, west,	300
Blackfeet,	13,000	Otoes,	500
Blood Indians (*few reach the Missouri*)	500	Omahas,	2,000
Brothertons,	600	Ogellahs,	1,500
Cherokees,	26,000	Pawnees,	17,000
Creeks,	25,000	Poncas,	700
Chickasaws,	5,000	Pottawatomies,	3,200
Choctaws,	16,000	Peorias,	150
Cheyennes,	2,500	Piankeshaws,	200
Caddoes,	2,000	Quappas,	400
Chippewas, west, and Red River, north,	1,500	Shawanees,	1,600
Cayugas and Iroquois, west,	30	Sioux of the Mississippi (not enumerated in No. 1),	9,000
Delawares,	1,500	Sioux of the Missouri (not enumerated in No. 1),	5,500
Foxes and Sacs,	2,400	Stockbridges,	400
Gros Ventres,	3,000	Seminoles,	1,500
Kiowas,	2,000	Swan Creek and Black River Chippewas (not enumerated in the Algonquin groupe),	200
Kickapoos,	600	Tetans,	3,000
Kanzas,	1,600	Weas,	250
Kaskaskias,	200		
Menomonies,	2,500		
Mandans, (?)	300		
Minitarees,	2,500		

Within the old States are the following remnants of ancient tribes:

Maine,	956	Virginia—Nottoways, mixed with the African race,	40
Massachusetts,	847	South Carolina—Catawbas,	200
Rhode Island—Narragansetts,	420	North Carolina—Catawbas,	250
Connecticut—Mohegans,	400	Tuscaroras, with Cherokees included in former tables.	
New York—Besides the Iroquois, before enumerated,	40		

SOUTH AMERICA.

TRIBES OF THE WEST INDIES,

AND THE NORTHERN PROVINCES OF SOUTH AMERICA

CHAPTER I.

INDIANS FIRST SEEN BY COLUMBUS—LANDING AT GUANAHANI—NATIVES OF CUBA—EMBASSY TO THE GRAND KHAN!—DISCOVERY OF HAYTI, AND INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES—GUACANAGARI—WRECK OF THE ADMIRAL'S VESSEL—HONESTY AND HOSPITALITY OF THE NATIVE INHABITANTS—TRADE FOR GOLD—BUILDING OF THE FORTRESS OF LA NAVIDAD—DEPARTURE OF THE NINA—THE CIGUAYANS—DISORDERS AND DESTRUCTION OF THE GARRISON AT LA NAVIDAD—FORT OF ST. THOMAS.

At the time of the discovery of the New World by Columbus, the larger West India islands and the Bahamas were, for the most part, inhabited by a kindly and simple-hearted race. Although living in the most primitive state of nature, unclothed, and possessed of only the rudest weapons and implements, they do not appear to have been deficient in intellectual capacity. The delightful climate of their country, and the spontaneous fruitfulness of the soil, removed the ordinary incentives to labor and ingenuity. The rudest huts of branches, reeds, and palm-leaf thatch, with hammocks (originally the Indian word "hamacs") slung between the posts, fully sufficed for their dwellings. Protection from the rain was alone necessary.

They were of good figure and proportion, their foreheads were high and well formed, and the general cast of their countenance and conformation of their features agreeable and regular.

The great admiral landed, for the first time since the days of "the Northmen" that any European had visited the Western World, at Guanahani, San Salvador, or Cat Island, on the 12th of October, 1492. The shore was lined with naked savages, who fled at the approach of the boats; but watching from a distance the incomprehensible ceremony of taking possession, and the religious exercises of thanksgiving, performed by the strangers, fear soon gave place to reverential curiosity. If any thing could excite their wonder in a higher degree than the majestic approach of the ships, it might well be the splendor of the Spanish dress and arms, the strange complexion, and the thick beards of the strangers who arrived in them. The Indians soon began to gather round the little band, throwing themselves upon the earth in token of submission and respect, and worshipping the Spaniards as gods or divine messengers. As nothing but kindness appeared in the demeanor of the strangers, the natives grew more familiar, and, with unbounded admiration, touched and examined their dress and beards.

Columbus still further won the good-will of the islanders by a judicious distribution of such brilliant beads and toys as ever attract the eye of the savage. Nothing delighted them so much as hawks'-bells, of whose pleasant tinkling, when suspended from their arms and necks, they were never weary. The next day, laying aside all fear, the Indians came out to the ships, swimming or paddling in their canoes. They brought such little articles of trade as they possessed; balls of cotton yarn, parrots, and cassava bread (made from the yuca root); eager to traffic, upon any terms, for European commodities. Golden orna-



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

ments worn in the noses of some of them at once aroused the cupidity of the Spaniards, who eagerly bought them up, and made inquiry, by signs, as to whence the material was brought. This was explained to be at the southward.

In his further cruise among the Bahamas, in the vain search for gold, Columbus pursued the most humane and gentle policy towards the natives, and their gratitude and delight at his caresses and presents knew no bounds. Equally generous, they were ever ready to proffer to the Spaniards all their little wealth of cotton, fruits, and tame parrots. Seven of the natives of Guanahani were taken on board the vessels upon the departure from that island.

The admiral had no doubt but that he had reached the islands of the Asiatic coast, and, in accordance with this mistake, bestowed the epithet of Indians upon the inhabitants. As he came in sight of Cuba, he supposed that he had at last reached Cipango. This opinion was finally changed, from a misapprehension of communications from the natives on board, to a firm belief that this was the main land of the continent of Asia, an error of which Columbus was never disabused.

The inhabitants appeared rather more advanced in the arts than those before seen, but, to the intense disappointment of all on board the vessels, none of them were possessed of any gold. Two embassadors were sent by Columbus to explore the interior, and to visit the court of the prince of the country, whom his imagination led him to conclude must be none other than the Grand Khan! A rude Indian village, of about one thousand inhabitants, naked savages, like those of the coast, was all that was discovered by these emissaries. They were received and entertained with the greatest kindness and reverence, but were unable to communicate with the natives otherwise than by signs. The most interesting report made by them upon their return, was of a custom then unknown to the

whites, viz: that of smoking. The name of tobacco, given by the natives to the cigars which they used, was ever after applied to the plant.

From Cuba, Columbus took several Indians, men and women, on board, at his departure, that they might be taught Spanish, and thereafter serve as interpreters. In December, he discovered the island of Hayti, named by him Hispaniola, and landing on the 12th of the month, he raised a cross in token of taking possession. All the inhabitants had fled into the interior; but a young female was taken by some roving sailors, and brought on board. She was sent on shore with abundant presents of ornaments and clothing, to give a favorable report of the whites to her own people. Next day a party was sent to visit the Indian town upon the bank of the River of three Rivers. The town consisted of about one thousand houses, from which the occupants fled at the sight of the Spaniards. They were finally rëassured, and induced to return. Some two thousand of them made their appearance, advancing slowly, with every gesture and expression of humiliation and respect.

The woman whom the Spaniards had the day before entertained, had not failed to report magnificent descriptions of her captors and their vessels. The tokens which she brought back, in the shape of beads, hawks'-bells, &c., were yet more convincing evidence of the beneficence and wealth of the Spaniards. She now came forward, with her husband, at the head of a throng of Indians, and every expression of gratitude and good-will was lavished by them upon their guests. Every thing that the poor natives possessed was freely at the Spaniards' service.

Columbus writes of these islanders: "True it is that after they felt confidence and lost their fear of us, they were so liberal with what they possessed that it would not be believed by those who had not seen it. If any thing

was asked of them, they never said no; but rather gave it cheerfully, and showed as much amity as if they gave their very hearts."

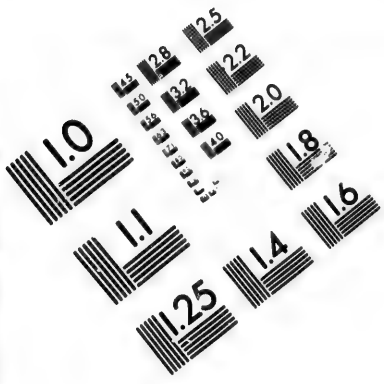
The early voyagers, and all contemporary writers, agree that this was the character of nearly all the inhabitants of the West India Islands, with the exception of the Caribs. A more guileless, innocent, contented race has never existed, and never were strangers welcomed to a foreign shore with more genuine and kindly hospitality; but what a return did they receive for their friendliness and submission!

Coasting along towards the east, Columbus landed at Acul, and held friendly communion with the inhabitants, whose first fears were easily dispelled. The same scenes of mutual presents and hospitalities that characterized the former landings were here repeated. The whole of that region of country was under the command of a great cacique, named Guacanagari, from whom the Spaniards now, for the first time, received messengers, inviting them to visit him, and offering various curious presents. Among these articles, were some specimens of rude work in gold.

While pursuing his course eastward, with the intention of anchoring in a harbor described as near the residence of the cacique, Columbus had the misfortune to be cast away upon a sand-bar. No shipwrecked mariners ever received more prompt and efficient relief than was immediately extended by Guacanagari and his subjects. Every thing was brought to land from the wreck, and guarded with the most scrupulous honesty. The cacique himself, with tears in his eyes, came on board the caravel Nina, whither the admiral and his crew had been obliged to betake themselves, and offered every assistance in his power.

With respect to the goods brought on shore in the natives' canoes, "there seemed," says Mr. Irving, "even among the common people, no disposition to take advantage of the misfortune of the strangers. Although they





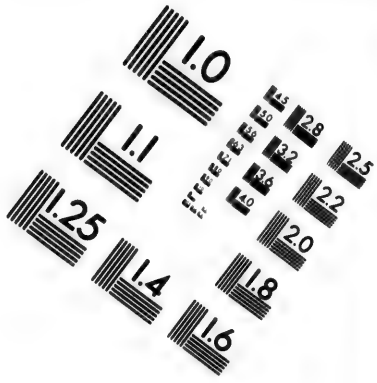
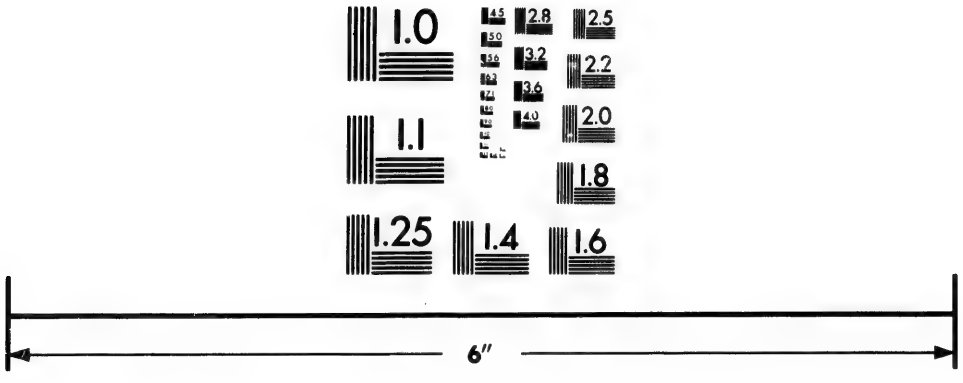
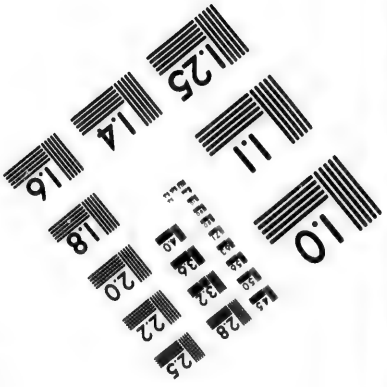


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

beheld what must, in their eyes, have been inestimable treasures, cast as it were upon their shores, and open to depredation, yet there was not the least attempt to pilfer, nor, in transporting the effects from the ship, had they appropriated the most trifling article; on the contrary, a general sympathy was visible in their countenances and actions; and, to have witnessed their concern, one would have supposed the misfortune had happened to themselves."

The Spaniards, wearied with long and profitless voyaging, now revelled in the enjoyment of true Indian hospitality. The cacique, who was regarded with the utmost love and reverence by his subjects, continued his kind offices, and his people were not behind-hand in following his example. What delighted the shipwrecked mariners more than any other circumstance, was the number of gold ornaments possessed by the natives, and which they were eager to dispart for any trifle of European manufacture. Hawks'-bells, above all other articles of use or ornament, were universally in demand. "On one occasion," says Irving, "an Indian gave half-a-handful of gold dust in exchange for one of these toys, and no sooner was in possession of it, than he bounded away to the woods, looking often behind him, and fearful that the Spaniard would repent of having parted so cheaply with such an inestimable jewel."

The natives described the mountains of Cibao as the principal source whence gold was to be obtained. Valuable mines were, indeed, afterwards discovered in that region, although their yield fell far short of the extravagant anticipations of the Spaniards.

A portion of the crew of the wrecked vessel expressed a strong desire to remain at Hispaniola until another expedition could be fitted out from Spain, upon the return of the Nina, and Columbus was not displeased with the proposition. The Indians were overjoyed at the prospect of retaining some of the powerful strangers in their island,

as a protection against the invasions of the dreaded Caribs, and as security for a future visit from European vessels. They had seen, with wonder and awe, the terrible effect of the discharge of artillery, and the admiral had promised the assistance of his men and weapons in case of any inroad from an enemy's country.

The little fortress of La Navidad was speedily constructed out of the materials of the stranded vessel, and fortified with her cannon. The Indians eagerly lent their assistance in the labor of transportation and building. Thirty-nine men were chosen, from the numerous volunteers for that service, as a garrison for the fort: to these Columbus addressed the most earnest exhortations to discretion and kindness in their intercourse with the natives. His heart might well be touched by the continued courtesy and affection of Guacanagari, who could not refrain from tears at parting with his venerated friend. The Nina sailed on the 4th of January, 1493. Coasting eastward, the caravel joined company with the Pinta, under Pinzon, of which no accounts had been for some time received, and the two vessels passed cape Caboon, and came to anchor in the bay beyond. Here was seen a tribe of Indians very different from those of the west end of the island. From their bold and warlike appearance, their bows and arrows, clubs, and wooden swords, the Spaniards took them for Caribs, and, unfortunately, before coming to a friendly understanding with them, a skirmish took place, in which two of the Indians were wounded. Reconciliation and friendly intercourse succeeded. The tribe proved to be that of the Ciguayans, a hardy race of mountaineers. Columbus was particularly struck with the noble demeanor of the cacique, supposed to be the same afterwards prominent in history as Mayonabex.

Not long after the departure of the admiral from La Navidad, the Spaniards left at the fort began to give them-

selves up to the most unbounded and dissolute license. Their savage quarrels among themselves, and the gross sensuality which characterized their intercourse with the natives, soon disabused the latter of the sublime conceptions formed by them of the virtues and wisdom of their guests. With all this misrule, the precautions of a military post were utterly neglected, and full opportunity was given for an attack. The destruction of the fort by the Carib Chief Caonabo, will be found described in a subsequent chapter.

When Columbus returned to Hispaniola, upon his second voyage, nothing but dismantled ruins marked the spot of the settlement. Guacanagari and his people described the attack of Caonabo and his warriors, their own futile attempts to assist the garrison, and the slaughter of the Spaniards. Notwithstanding the apparent good faith of the cacique, many of the Spaniards began to mistrust his accounts, and to suspect him of having acted a treacherous part. This suspicion was strengthened by his sudden departure with several of the female captives brought away by the admiral from the Caribee Islands.

The hope of procuring rich treasures of the precious metals, and the desire of holding in check the warlike Caonabo, induced Columbus to establish the fortress of St. Thomas in the province of Cibao. Those stationed at this remote interior position, in the midst of more hardy and proud-spirited tribes than those of the coast, collected and transmitted much curious information concerning native superstitions, customs, and nationalities. Some crude notions of supernatural influences, apparitions, necromancy, &c., were entertained by these islanders, in common with most savage nations. They had also an idea of a future state of happiness for the good, in which all earthly pleasures should be enjoyed in unalloyed perfection.

CHAPTER II.

INDIANS OF JAMAICA—CRUISE ALONG THE SOUTHERN COAST OF CUBA —SPEECH OF AN INDIAN COUNSELLOR—DIFFICULTIES AT THE FORTRESS OF ST. THOMAS—ITS SIEGE BY CAONABO—EFFORTS OF COLUMBUS TO RESTORE ORDER—GREAT RISING OF THE INDIANS OF HISPANIOLA—THEIR DEFEAT—TRIBUTE IMPOSED —VISIT OF BARTHOLOMEW TO XARAGUAY—FURTHER INSURRECTIONS IN THE VEGA—BOBADILLA AS VICEROY —CRUELTIES PRACTISED ON THE INDIANS—LAS CASAS—INCIDENTS RELATED BY PURCHAS—ADMINISTRATION OF OVANDO—EXPEDITION AGAINST XARAGUA—REDUCTION OF HIGUEY.

In the month of May, 1494, the island of Jamaica was first discovered by Columbus. The native inhabitants appeared to be of a very different character from the timid and gentle islanders with whom former intercourse had been held. A crowd of canoes, filled with savages gaudily adorned with plumes and paint, opposed the landing of the Spaniards. These were pacified by the Indian interpreters on board; but upon landing, the next day, the throng of natives on shore exhibited such decidedly hostile intentions, that it became necessary to intimidate them. A few discharges from the Spanish cross-bows sufficed to put them to flight. The ferocity of a savage dog, brought on shore by the whites, added greatly to their terror.

There was no difficulty in allaying the apprehensions of these Indians, and the usual friendly intercourse was soon established. During a cruise along the southern coast of Cuba, which occupied the succeeding months of June and July, the islanders seen were as gentle and tractable as those upon the northern shores of the island. The means of communication now afforded by the Indian interpreters gave new interest to every conference. The

wondering crowd of natives would gather with the most eager interest around these their fellow-countrymen, to listen to the tales of gorgeous spectacles and unheard-of wonders witnessed by themselves in the distant country of the whites. There was enough of the novel and wonderful before the eyes of the ignorant islanders, in the ships, appearance, conduct, and costume of the Spaniards, to prevent incredulity, as they listened to the narrations of the interpreters. The performance of the religious services of the Catholic church, struck the natives with awe, particularly when the purport of these ceremonials was explained to them. In testimony of their natural intelligence and perceptions of right and wrong, Mr. Irving gives us, from Herrera, the following speech of an aged councillor of one of the Cuban caciques, after witnessing the celebration of the mass:

"When the service was ended, the old man of fourscore, who had contemplated it with profound attention, approached Columbus, and made him an oration in the Indian manner.

"'This which thou hast been doing,' said he, 'is well; for it appears to be thy manner of giving thanks to God. I am told that thou hast lately come to these lands with a mighty force, and hast subdued many countries, spreading great fear among the people; but be not therefore vainglorious. Know that, according to our belief, the souls of men have two journeys to perform after they have departed from the body; one to a place dismal and foul, and covered with darkness, prepared for those who have been unjust and cruel to their fellow-men; the other pleasant and full of delight, for such who have promoted peace on earth. If then thou art mortal, and dost expect to die, and dost believe that each one shall be rewarded according to his deeds, beware that thou wrongfully hurt no man, nor do harm to those who have done no harm to thee.'"

From Cuba the admiral visited the southern shores of Jamaica. All the first distrust and opposition of the inhabitants had vanished, and nothing but gentleness and kindness characterized their demeanor. At one place a cacique came out to the ship with his whole family, "consisting of his wife, two daughters, two sons, and five brothers. One of the daughters was eighteen years of age, beautiful in form and countenance; her sister was somewhat younger; both were naked, according to the custom of the islands, but were of modest demeanour."

This chief professed himself ready to go, with all his train, in the Spanish vessels, to visit the king and queen of Spain, and acknowledge himself their vassal, if by so doing he could preserve his kingdom.

During the absence of Columbus, the dissolute and unprincipled Spaniards at the fortress of St. Thomas, so grossly abused their power among the natives, that an extensive spirit of hostility was roused up against them. Caonabo was unwearied in his efforts to excite the other island caciques to a union against the intruders, and the faithful Guacanagari alone seems to have been proof against his persuasions, in revenge for which non-compliance, the Carib and his brother-in-law, Behechio, committed numberless indignities and injuries upon him and his people. Serious difficulties soon arose; a number of Spaniards were put to death by Guatiguana, a subordinate cacique under the celebrated Guarionex, in punishment for outrages committed upon his people; and Caonabo besieged the garrison at St. Thomas with a force of many thousands of his warriors. After thirty days' of ineffectual attempts to reduce the place, he gave up the undertaking, and drew off his army. The stratagem by which the person of this noted chief and warrior was secured by the commandant at St. Thomas's, will be detailed hereafter. Columbus, upon his return to Hispaniola, made use of every effort to check

the ruinous disorders which had become prevalent. He punished Guatiguana by an invasion of his dominions and the destruction of no small number of his people. An interview was then brought about with his superior, Guarionex, a peaceable and well-disposed chief, who readily consented to the establishment of a Spanish fort in the very heart of his domains.

The crushing system of oppression had now fairly commenced, and was promptly followed up by the shipment of five hundred Indians to be sold as slaves in Spain. This was directly the act of Columbus himself, and historians only offer, as his excuse, the argument that such was the ordinary custom of his age in all wars with savages or infidels. The interposition of the kind-hearted Isabella, prevented the consummation of this proposed sale. By her orders, the prisoners were sent back to their homes, but, unfortunately, not until the state of affairs upon the islands was such that the poor [illegible] might have been better situated as slaves in Spain.

A general combination of the island chieftains against the Spaniards finally induced Columbus to commence an active campaign against them. In the dominions of the captive, Caonabo, his brother, Manicaotex, his brother-in-law, Behechio, and his beautiful wife, Anacaona, were the most prominent in authority, and the most active in rousing up hostilities. The Spanish force consisted of a little over two hundred men, twenty of whom were mounted, and twenty *blood-hounds*, an enemy as novel as terrible to the naked savages. Guacanagari lent his feeble aid, with that of his followers. Of the number of the hostile Indians in the district of the Vega, the historians of the time gave exaggerated accounts. They speak of an array of one hundred thousand hostile savages. Manicaotex was leader of the united tribes. Near the site of the present town of St. Jago, a decisive battle was fought,

in which the vast army of the Indians was utterly routed. The Spanish commander did not hesitate to divide his little battalion into several detachments, which fell upon the enemy simultaneously, from different quarters. Torn to pieces by the savage dogs, trampled down by the cavalry, and unable to effect any thing in turn against the mail-clad whites, the poor Indians were overwhelmed with confusion and terror. The rout was as complete, although the massacre was not so cruel, as when Pizarro attacked the Peruvian Inca, with an almost equally disproportionate force.

"The Indians," says Mr. Irving, "fled in every direction with yells and howlings; some clambered to the top of rocks and precipices, from whence they made piteous supplications and offers of complete submission; many were killed, many made prisoners, and the confederacy was, for for the time, completely broken up and dispersed."

Nearly the whole of Hispaniola was speedily reduced to subjection; Behechio and his sister, Anacaona, alone of all the natives in authority, secluded themselves among the unsettled wilds at the western extremity of the island. All the other caciques made conciliatory overtures, and submitted to the imposition of a heavy and grievous tribute upon them and their subjects. A hawks'-bell filled with gold-dust, or twenty-five pounds of cotton, was quarterly required at the hands of every Indian over the age of fourteen; from the chiefs a vastly larger amount was collected. The contrast between the former easy and luxurious life of the islanders, their gayety and content, their simple pleasures, and unfettered liberty, with the galling servitude and wearisome tasks now imposed, is most touchingly and eloquently described by Irving. Unable to endure the unwonted toil and hopeless labor, the Indians vainly endeavored to escape to the mountains, and, subsisting upon the crude products of the forest, to evade the cruelty of their enslavers. They were hunted out, and

compelled to return to their homes and to their labors. The unfortunate Guacanagari, receiving no favor from the suspicious Spaniards, and being an object of the deepest hatred to his countrymen for the part he had taken in their struggle for freedom, died in neglect and wretchedness among the mountains.

In 1496, Bartholomew, a brother of Columbus, then exercising the office of adelantado at Hispaniola, visited Behechio at his remote western province of Xaraguay. He was received with hospitality and kindness by this chief and his sister Anacaona, and entertained in the best manner the country could afford. The object of the expedition was to induce the cacique to comply peaceably with the Spanish requisitions of tribute. Behechio had learned by sad experience the power of the European arms, and, as the adelantado agreed to receive the tribute in such articles as his country produced, instead of gold, he readily consented. Bartholomew's judicious policy towards these illustrious islanders gained him their highest esteem. Behechio and his sister paid the tribute required cheerfully and promptly; and, upon the occasion of a visit from the adelantado to receive it, they both took occasion to visit the caravel in which he had arrived. Anacaona, especially, was filled with delight at the sight of the vessel, and at witnessing the ease and certainty with which its movements were controlled.

The females of Xaraguay were of most remarkable beauty, but prëeminent among them was the widow of Caonabo. Her queenly demeanor, grace, and courtesy, won the admiration of the Spaniards.

In the following year (1497) another insurrection broke out among tribes of the Vega and the vicinity. The immediate cause of this outbreak was the execution, at the stake, in accordance with the barbarity and bigotry of the age, of a number of Indians, for the offence of sacrilege

Guarionex, the principal cacique, had been an object of special interest with the ecclesiastics to whom was committed the work of converting the islanders. His easy and pliable disposition caused him to listen patiently to their instructions, and to comply with numerous forms of their enjoining. Some one of the Spaniards having committed an outrage upon his wife, Guarionex refused to listen further to the doctrines of a religion whose professors were guilty of such villanies. Shortly after this, a chapel was broken open, and images enshrined within it were destroyed by a number of the natives. For this offence, those implicated were burned alive, as above mentioned. The adelantado suppressed the consequent uprising by a prompt and energetic seizure of the leading chiefs. Two of these were put to death, but Guarionex and the others were pardoned.

By the persuasions and influence of the rebellious Roldan, the unfortunate cacique was, in 1498, drawn into a second conspiracy of the natives. The plot was prematurely developed, and Guarionex fled from the plains of the Vega into the mountains of Ciguay, and joined his fortunes to those of the cacique Mayonabex. This generous and noble chief received him, with his family and a few followers, under his protection.

From this retreat, with the assistance of Ciguayan warriors, the fugitive was enabled to molest the Spanish settlements of the low country with impunity, until the Adelantado Bartholomew invaded the mountain district, dispersed the armies of Mayonabex, and took both him and his guest prisoners. The conqueror was more placable towards a fallen foe than most of his countrymen, and, upon the submission of the Ciguayans, was ready to accord them protection and favor. Guarionex perished, in 1502, on his passage for Spain, in the same vessel with Boba dilla and Roldan. The ship foundered at sea in a terrible

hurricane, which arose immediately after the departure from Hispaniola.

It was under the administration of Bobadilla that the Indians of Hispaniola were reduced to a more complete and systematic condition of slavery than before. They were regularly parceled out to the Spanish proprietors of the mines, by whom they were compelled to labor far beyond their powers of endurance, and whose wanton cruelties excited the strongest indignation in the mind of the benevolent Las Casas—one of the few historians of his age and nation, who possessed the inclination or courage to paint the cruelties of his countrymen in their true colors. This truly benevolent man devoted the greater portion of his life to efforts for ameliorating the condition of the natives of the New World, but in his sympathy with their sufferings and oppressions, he unfortunately lost sight of what was due to another scarcely less unfortunate race. He was among the earliest to advocate the substitution of negro slavery for that of the Indians, under the impression—doubtless in itself just—that a state of servitude was less intolerable to the one than the other. It is to Las Casas that we are indebted for the most frightful detail of wrong and cruelty in the settlement of the West Indies, that ever disgraced human nature. His descriptions of the manner in which the native population was annihilated to minister to the luxury and avarice—nay, far worse, to the depraved and wanton cruelty of the Spaniards—are frightful in the extreme. We can share in the honest indignation of old Purchas, from whose "Pilgrimage" we cite the following items:

"In the Island Hispaniola the Spaniards had their first Indian habitations, where their cruelties draue the Indians to their shifts, and to their weak defence, which caused those enraged Lions, to spare neither man, woman, nor childe.—They set up gibbets, and in honour of CHRIST and

nis twelve Apostles (as they said, and could the Diuell say worse?) they would both hang and burne them. * * The Nobles and commanders, they broiled on gridirons, * * * They had dogges to hunt them out of their couerts, which deuoured the poore soules: and because sometimes the Indians, thus prouoked, would kill a Spaniard, if they found opportunitie, they made a law, that an hundred of them should for one Spaniard be slaine."

He elsewhere remarks:

"Here [in Cuba] was a cacique named Hathuey, which called his subjects about him, and shewing them a boxe of Gold, said, that was the Spaniards God, and made them dance about it very solemnly; and lest the Spaniards should have it, he hurled it into the Riuer. Being taken and condemned to the fire; when he was bound to the stake, a Frier came and preached heauen to him, and the terrors of hell: Hathuey asked if there were any Spaniards in heauen, the Frier answered, yea, such as were good; Hathuey replied, he would rather goe to hell, then goe where any of that cruell Nation were. I was once present saith *Casas*, when the inhabitants of one towne brought vs forth victuall, and met vs with great Kindnesse, and the Spaniards without any cause slew three thousand of them, of euery age and sexe. I, by their counsell, sent to other Townes to meet vs, with promise of good dealing, and two and twentie Caciques met vs, which the Captaine, against all faith, caused to be burned."

In Hispaniola, under the administration of Ovando, successor to Bobadilla, the sufferings and oppressions of the overtasked natives reached their climax. It would be but a wearisome repetition of barbarities to enumerate the wrongs perpetrated against the submissive inhabitants in the vicinity of the principal Spanish settlements, but the expedition against the province of Xaraguay merits a more particular attention. This was in the year 1503. Behe-

chio was dead, but his sister Anacaona still maintained her influence over the natives of that district. Upon pretence of an intended insurrection, Ovando determined to reduce Xaraguay to a condition as miserable and hopeless as that of the eastern districts. He started upon this expedition with three hundred well-armed infantry and seventy mounted men. The army entered the dominions of Anacaona with the appearance of friendship, and the queen, with her associate caciques, was not backward in rendering to her visitors all the hospitalities of the country. Troops of young girls, dancing and waving branches of palm, ushered them into the principal village, where they were received and entertained with every token of kindness and good-will.

It is impossible to conceive of any adequate motion on the part of the ferocious Ovando for the treacherous cruelty of his conduct towards his hosts. He affected to believe that a conspiracy was on foot among the natives, to massacre him and his followers, but, judging from what we can learn of the transaction, there existed no possible ground for such a suspicion. The course taken to avert the supposed danger was as follows. All the caciques were invited to attend, with their people, at a grand festival or exhibition of Spanish martial exercises. When the unsuspecting Xaraguans had gathered in eager curiosity to behold the scene, at a given signal, the armed Spaniards fell upon the crowd, and a scene of horrible carnage ensued. Forty of the chiefs, it is said, were taken prisoners, and after being subjected to the most cruel torments to extort from them a confession of guilt, the house where they were confined was set on fire, and the whole number perished in the flames.

Anacaona was carried to St. Domingo, tried, adjudged guilty of an attempt at insurrection, and hanged! Her subjects were remorselessly persecuted; hunted from their

retreats among the mountains, slain like wild beasts, or brought into the most servile and hopeless bondage, they attempted no resistance, and submitted to the cruel yoke of their tyrants.

The reduction of the eastern province of Higuey, and the execution of its noble and gigantic chief Cotubanama, completed the Spanish conquests on the island of Hispaniola. The details of the barbarities attendant upon this last warfare, as given by Las Casas, are too horrible and disgusting for minute recital. It is sufficient that, not content with the destruction of the conquered people, without regard to age and sex, the Spaniards tasked their ingenuity, to devise the most cruel and lingering torments in the murder of their prisoners.

By such a course of atrocities were the West India islands depopulated of their original inhabitants. The summary with which Purchas concludes his enumeration of various scenes of Spanish cruelty, is too quaint and forcible to be omitted. "But why doe I longer trace them in their bloudie steppes; seeing our Author that relates much more then I, yet protesteth that it was a thousand times worse. * * How may we admire that long-suffering of GOD, that rained not a floud of waters, as in *Noahs* time. or of fire, as in *Lots*, or of stones, as in *Joshuas*, or some vengeance from heauen vpon these Models of Hell? And how could Hell forbeare swallowing such prepared morsels, exceedinge the beastlinesse of beastes, inhumanitie of wonted tyrants, and diuelishnesse, if it were possible, of the Diuels."

CHAPTER III.

THE CARIBS—THEIR ISLANDS FIRST VISITED BY COLUMBUS—ORIGIN AND LOCATION OF THE RACE—TOKENS OF CANNIBALISM SEEN BY THE SPANIARDS—CRUISE AMONG THE ISLANDS—DEMEANOR OF PRISONERS TAKEN—RETURN TO HISPANIOLA—DESTRUCTION OF THE FORTRESS AT THAT ISLAND—CAPTURE OF CAONABO: HIS DEATH—EXPULSION OF THE NATIVES FROM THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS.

At the time of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, the fierce and celebrated race of cannibals which forms the subject of the present chapter was principally located upon the beautiful tropical islands, extending from Porto Rico to the main land of South America. The terror of their invasions, felt by the more gentle and peaceable natives of the greater Antilles, inspired no little curiosity and interest in the minds of the early voyagers, and Columbus had promised the assistance of the Spanish power to check their ravages. Upon his second voyage, in 1493, the first land made was one of the Caribbean islands, and on the following day, (November 4th,) a landing was effected at Guadaloupe. Here the first intercourse took place with the terrible Caribs.

This singular race of savages, according to tradition, had its origin upon the continent of North America, among the mountain districts of the central United States. Perhaps they might have sprung from the same stock as the warlike Monacans and other savage tribes of the interior, spoken of by early historians. "They are said to have migrated," says Mr. Irving, "from the remote valleys embosomed in the Appalachian mountains. The earliest notices we have of them represent them with their weapons in their hands; continually engaged in wars; winning their way and shifting their abode, until in the course

of time they found themselves on the extreme end of Florida." Hence they made their way from one island to another to the southern continent. "The archipelago extending from Porto Rico to Tobago, was their strong-hold, and the island of Guadaloupe in a manner their citadel."

Whether the foregoing account of the original derivation of the race be the correct one, it would be difficult to decide at this distance of time. When first known to Europeans the different nations of Caribs were widely diffused upon the Continent of South America. They were to be found upon the banks of the Orinoco, where their descendants are living at this day, and, still farther south, in Brazil. They were every where noted for the same fierce and warlike spirit. Something of the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of eastern Asia has been observed in the Caribs and the Guarani tribes who inhabited the country north of the Amazon. As described by D'Orbigny, the following peculiarities are noticeable in most of them. "Complexion yellowish; stature middle; forehead not so much arched as in other races; eyes obliquely placed, and raised at the outer angle."

To return to the experience of the discoverer of the New World at the Caribbee islands. At the landing of the Spaniards, the natives fled from a neighboring village into the interior. In order to conciliate them, the visitors fastened hawks'-bells and attractive ornaments to the arms of some children who had been left behind in the hurry of flight. The sight of human remains, among other things, "the head of a young man, recently killed, which was yet bleeding, and some parts of his body boiling with the flesh of geese and parrots, and others roasting before the fire," at once suggested the thought that this must be the country of the Caribs. Columbus took a number of the natives prisoners, and carried off several women who had been held in captivity by the islanders. It appeared that

most of the men of the island were away upon some war like excursion.

Pursuing his course towards Hispaniola, or Hayti, where the first colony had been planted upon his preceding voyage, Columbus sailed by numerous islands of the Caribbean groupe. He landed at Santa Cruz, called Ayay by the Indians, and secured a further number of prisoners. Some of these were in a canoe, and offered a fierce resistance when they saw their retreat intercepted by one of the Spanish boats. There were two women of the party, one of them apparently a female cacique, and these showed no less valor than the men. They were taken by upsetting their canoe; but, even in the water, they resisted stoutly to the last, availing themselves of every point of sunken rock, where they could obtain a foothold, to discharge their arrows. One of the men was a son of the queen, and his "terrible frowning brow, and lion's face," excited the admiration of his captors. The demeanor of the whole party reminds one strongly of the early descriptions of the Maquas or Mohawks when in captivity.

"When on board," says Irving, "the Spaniards could not but admire their untamed spirit and fierce demeanour. Their hair was long and coarse, their eyes encircled with paint, so as to give them a hideous expression; they had bands of cotton bound firmly above and below the muscular parts of the arms and legs, so as to cause them to swell to a disproportionate size, which was regarded by them as a great beauty, a custom which prevailed among various tribes of the new world. Though captives, in chains, and in the power of their enemies, they still retained a frowning brow and an air of defiance."

Arriving at Hayti, Columbus found the settlement at La Navidad laid waste and abandoned. Its destruction was owing to a Carib chief named Caonabo, whose warlike and commanding nature had gained him unbounded au-

thority over the natives of the island. The fact of his uniting himself with another race by which his own nation was regarded with the utmost detestation and dread, and his attainment of rank and influence under such circumstances, are sufficient proofs of his enterprise and capacity.

The friendly Indian chief Guacanagari had in vain extended his assistance to the little band of Spanish colonists. Caonabo had heard at his establishment among the mountains of Cibao, of the outrages and excesses committed by the whites, and during the absence of the admiral, he made a descent upon the fort. All of the Spaniards perished, and Guacanagari was wounded in the encounter. As a further punishment for his espousal of the cause of the detested strangers, his village was destroyed by the revengeful Carib.

Guacanagari and other Haytian Indians were taken on board the Spanish vessels, and, among other proofs of superiority and power, were shown the Carib prisoners, confined in chains. This seemed to affect them more powerfully than any thing else that they witnessed. These captives were afterwards sent over to Spain for instruction in the Spanish language and in the true religion, it being intended that they should thereafter act as missionaries among their own savage countrymen.

The circumstances attending the capture of the Spaniards' most dreaded enemy, Caonabo, are too singular and well attested to be passed over. This was accomplished by the celebrated Alonzo de Ojeda, commandant of the fortress of St. Thomas. The Carib chief was able, it is asserted, to bring no less than ten thousand warriors into the field, and his personal strength and courage rendered him no despicable foe in open combat. Ojeda had recourse to the following stratagem to secure his enemy: He proceeded, accompanied by only ten mounted companions,

direct to the chief's encampment, upon pretence of a friendly mission from the admiral.

The cacique was, after great persuasion, induced to undertake an expedition to Isabella for the purpose of peaceful negotiations with Columbus. Among other inducements, Ojeda promised him the chapel-bell, as a present. Accompanied by a large body of armed warriors, the party set out for the Spanish settlement. Near the river Yagui, in the words of Mr. Irving, "Ojeda one day produced a set of manacles of polished steel, so highly burnished that they looked like silver. Those he assured Caonabo were royal ornaments which had come from heaven, or the Turey of Biscay," (the location of certain extensive iron manufactories); "that they were worn by the monarchs of Castile in solemn dances, and other high festivities, and were intended as presents to the cacique. He proposed that Caonabo should go to the river and bathe, after which he should be decorated with these ornaments, mounted on the horse of Ojeda, and should return in the state of a Spanish monarch, to astonish his subjects."

The bold device was completely successful. Caonabo, *en croupe* behind Ojeda, for a short time exulted in his proud position, curvetting among his amazed warriors; but suddenly the little cavalcade dashed into the forest with a rapidity that defied pursuit. The cacique was safely carried a distance of fifty or sixty leagues to Isabella, and delivered to the admiral. He ever after expressed great admiration at the skill and courage with which his captor had duped him, and manifested a reverence and respect towards Ojeda which his proud and haughty spirit forbade him to exhibit in any other presence, even that of Columbus himself.

Upon the occasion of the admiral's second return to Spain, in 1497, Caonabo, with several of his relatives, and a number of other Indians, was taken on board. Baffled

by contrary winds, the vessels were a long time delayed at the very commencement of the voyage. A landing was effected at Guadaloupe, for the purpose of procuring fresh provisions.

The inhabitants exhibited their natural hostility of disposition, and it was especially observed, as upon a former occasion, that the women were as warlike and efficient as the men. A number of these females were made prisoners, among the rest, one who was wife of a chief of the island, a woman of most remarkable agility and strength. On setting sail, the admiral, desirous of conciliating the good-will of the natives, set his prisoners free, and gave them divers presents in pay for the provisions and stores plundered by his crew. The cacique's wife was allowed to remain on board, with her daughter, at her own request, she having become enamored of the captive Caonabo. This distinguished chieftain died before the vessels reached Spain.

The Carib tribes who occupied the islands where the race was first encountered by Europeans, maintained possession of their homes as long as courage and desperation could avail against the superior skill and weapons of the whites. Spanish cupidity, and love of novelty and adventure led to the gradual occupation of the Caribbee islands. In some of them, bloody battles were fought: "At St. Christopher's," according to the Rev. W. H. Brett, "in 1625, two thousand Caribs perished in battle, whilst their European invaders lost one hundred men. In the other islands their losses were equally great. These calamities would cause a migration of the natives when they found it useless to fight any more. Some of the islands, as Martinico, were suddenly abandoned by them, after a fierce but unavailing struggle.

Those of the Caribs who chose to forsake the islands entirely, would naturally take refuge with their brethren

already settled in Guiana, and by their valor secure to themselves such portions of the country as they might think proper to occupy; as few tribes would be able, or indeed dare, to oppose them. A remnant of the Caribs still remained at St. Vincent, and they were transported, about the end of the last century, to the island of Ruattan, in the bay of Honduras."

This once terrible and dreaded race—so dreaded by the Spaniards that vague reports of the approach of an army of Caribs could terrify the conquerors of Peru in the midst of their successes—is now reduced to a few insignificant tribes. They are scattered in the wilderness of Guiana, and mingled with other nations of the interior. About the upper waters of the Pomeroon is one of their most considerable establishments, and the tribe there located numbers but a few hundred savages, living in almost as primitive a state as when Columbus first coasted along these tropical shores.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIANS OF GUIANA AND VENEZUELA—CLASSIFICATION—THE ARAWAKS—FIRST SEEN BY COLUMBUS—ENTRY INTO THE GULF OF PARIA—HOSPITALITY OF THE NATIVES—RALEIGH'S VISIT TO THE ORINOCO—EARLY WARS OF THE ARAWAKS—VICTORY OVER THE CARIBS—MAROON NEGROES—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE ARAWAKS—OTHER TRIBES OF THE INTERIOR—GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

THE tribes who inhabit the wilderness between the Amazon and the sea-coast settlements at the north, upon the Caribbean sea and the Atlantic, have been classified as belonging to the same family with the aboriginal inhabit-

MAQUARRI DANCE, IN THE LOWER DISTRICT OF POMEROON.

THE Maquarri is a whip made of silk-grass, with which the performers give each other severe blows. It is deemed essential that no sign of pain or disconcert should be exhibited by the recipients



AN INDIAN SORCERER PERFORMING HIS CEREMONIES OVER THE SICK.

Among the most important personages in nearly every tribe upon the American Continent, except those whose habits have been changed by civilization, are the "pow-wows," as they were termed in New England, whose incantations were used to restore the sick and wounded, or to secure success in war and other public undertakings.

ants of Brazil. The race has been denominated the "Brasilio Guaarani," and has been divided into the nations of Guarani, Caribs, Tupi, and Botocudos.

In Guiana one of the most prominent tribes is that of the Arawaks. These people inhabit a great extent of country directly back of the narrow strip of cultivated sea-coast. Nearly the whole of their territory is a savage wilderness, in which the traveller in vain seeks for any evidence of progress, or any tokens of former civilization and prosperity. A few rude figures, marked upon the rocks in certain localities, are the only records of the numberless generations which have passed away, leaving their descendants precisely in the situation of those who preceded them, and as hopeless or careless of improvement. The Arawaks were the first natives seen by Columbus, upon the occasion of his discovery of the continent of South America, in the summer of 1498.

The first land made was the island of Trinidad, at the mouth of the great river Orinoco. No Indians were seen upon the island by a party sent on shore, although unmistakable tokens of a recent and hasty retreat were visible. As the vessels approached the Serpent's Mouth, (the southern entrance to the gulf of Paria,) twenty-five of the natives made their appearance in a canoe. To the astonishment of the admiral, who had expected, from the reports at Hispaniola, to find a race of negroes in these southern latitudes, they were of lighter complexion than any with whom he had before held intercourse. Their figures were well proportioned and graceful; their only clothing was a sort of turban, and a waistband of colored cotton; and their arms were bows and arrows. When an attempt was made to conciliate these wild voyagers by dancing and music, it was mistaken for a sign of hostility, and the supposed war-dance was summarily stopped by a flight of arrows. The suspicions of the natives prevented the

AN INDIAN SORCERER PERFORMING HIS CEREMONIES OVER THE SICK.

Among the most important personages in nearly every tribe upon the American continent, except those whose habits have been changed by civilization, are the "pow-wows," as they were termed in New England, whose incantations were used to

opening of any communication with them until after the entry of the ships into the gulf. Several of them were then taken by upsetting their canoe, and, after being kindly entreated and encouraged, were dismissed with the usual presents of trinkets and hawks'-bells. When the fears of the inhabitants were dissipated by this procedure, they were eager to crowd about the vessels in their canoes. These latter were of excellent construction and large size; some of them were even furnished with a cabin.

The cacique of the county received the Spaniards at his house with the greatest respect and hospitality, and feasted them upon whatever luxuries the fruitful soil produced. "Nothing," says Irving, "could exceed the kindness and amity of this people, heightened as it was by an intelligent demeanour and a martial frankness. They seemed worthy of the beautiful country they inhabited. It was a cause of great concern, both to them and to the Spaniards, that they could not understand each others' language."

Sir Walter Raleigh entered the Orinoco in the year 1595, and brought home some account of the natives seen there. As recorded by Purchas: "The inhabitants on the Northerne branches are the Tiuitiuas, a goodly and valiant people, which haue the most manly speech and most deliberate (saith Sir Walter) that euer I heard of whatever Nation socuer. In the Summer they haue houses on the ground, as in other places: in the Winter they dwelt vpon the trees,[e] where they built very artificiall Townes and Villages; for betweene May and September the Riuer of Orenoque riseth thirtie foot vpright, and then are those Islands ouer-flowen twentie foot high, except in some few raised grounds in the middle. This waterie store, when the clouds are so prodigall of more then the Riuers storehouse can hold, whereby they became violent intruders and incroachers vpon the land, and not the violence of

[e] King *Abibeia* dwelt on a tree in the countrey of Dariena. *Pet. Martyr: Dec.* 3. *lib.* 6.

cold, giueth this time the title of Winter. These Tiuitiuas neuer eat of any thing that is set or sowne; Natures nurslings, that neither at home nor abroad, will be beholden to the art or labour of Husbandrie. They vse the tops of Palmitos for bread, and kill Deere, Fish, and Porke, for the rest of their sustenance. They which dwell vpon the branches of the Orenoque, called *Capuri* and *Macureo*, are for the most part Carpenters of Canoas, which they sell into Guiana for gold, and into Trinidado for Tabacco, in the excessiue taking whereof, they exceed all Nations. When a Commander dieth, they vse great lamentation, and when they thinke the flesh of their bodies is putrified and fallen from the bones, they take vp the karkasse againe, and hang it vp in the house, where he had dwelt, decking his skull with feathers of all colours, and hanging his gold-plates about the bones of his arms, thighes and legges. The *Arwacas*, which dwell on the South of the Orenoque, beat the bones of their Lords into Powder, which their wiues and friends drinke."

In early times the Arawaks were engaged in perpetual wars with the Caribs. Those of the latter race, who inhabited the nearest Caribbean islands, made continual descents upon the main, but are said, finally, to have been worsted. The Rev. W. H. Brett recounts some of the traditions still handed down among the Arawaks of these wars. "They have," says he, "an indistinct idea of cruelties perpetrated by the Spaniards. Tradition has preserved the remembrance of white men clothed with 'seperari' or iron, who drove their fathers before them, and, as some say, hunted them with dogs through the forest. But by far the greater number of their traditions relate to engagements between themselves and the Caribs on the main land." With peculiar exultation they detail the particulars of a victory obtained over a great body of these invaders by means of a judicious ambush. The Arawaks

had fled from their approach to the low marshy country upon the Waini, and laid their ambuscade upon either side of the narrow channel through which the enemy were expected to pass. "The Caribs are said to have had a great number of canoes of large size, which followed each other, in line, through the mazy channels of the Savannah. As they rounded a certain island, their painted warriors in the first canoe were transfixed by a shower of arrows from an unseen enemy on both sides of them, and totally disabled. Those in the second canoe shared the same fate; the others, who could not see what had happened, hurried forward to ascertain the cause of the cries, but each canoe, as it reached the fatal spot, was saluted by a deadly shower of arrows. The Arawaks then rushed forward, and fought till the victory was completed. It is said that only two Caribs survived, and they were dismissed by the Arawak chieftain, on promise of a ransom to be paid in cotton hammocks, for the manufacture of which their nation is noted."

After the settlement of difficulties between the European colonists of Guiana and the neighboring Indian tribes, the introduction of negro slaves by the former proved a terrible scourge to the natives. Great numbers of the Africans escaped from their masters into the wilderness, and there forming predatory bands, were long a terror to both whites and Indians. "The accounts which the Arawaks have received from their ancestors, represent these negroes as equally ferocious with the Caribs, and more to be dreaded on account of their superior bodily strength."

The Arawaks of the present day are, like their forefathers, a more mild and peaceable race than many of their neighbors. In their domestic relations and general manner of life, they do not differ materially from the generality of the North American savages. Together with the rude clubs, bows and arrows, &c., so universal among bar-

barous nations, they have the more efficient weapons of the European. The Indian is every where quick to perceive the advantage of fire-arms, and apt in acquiring their use. Christian missionaries have devoted themselves with great zeal and perseverance to the instruction and improvement of this tribe, and the natural kindly disposition of the race seems to favor the undertaking.

Besides the Caribs and Arawaks, the principal Indian tribes of Guiana are the Waraus, and the Wacawoios; in addition to these are the minor nations of the Arecunas, Zaparas, Soerikongs, Woyawais, Pianoghottos, &c., &c. Most of these are barbarous tribes, not sufficiently variant from each other to render a distinct consideration valuable or interesting.

The vast wilderness which they inhabit is little visited by whites. From the coast settlements the only available routes into the interior are by means of the numerous rivers, upon whose banks missionary enterprise has here and there established a little settlement as a nucleus for future operations among the natives at large. From Mr. Brett's narrative of his own observation and experience in these wilds, we quote the following items of general description:

"The appearance of the Indian in his natural state is not unpleasing when the eye has become accustomed to his scanty attire. He is smaller in size than either the European or the negro, nor does he possess the bodily strength of either of these. Few of his race exceed five feet five inches in height, and the greater number are much shorter. They are generally well made; many are rather stout in proportion to their height, and it is very rare to see a deformed person among them."

In respect to dress, which, both for men and women, is of the most scanty proportions, (consisting only of a bandage about the loins, with perhaps a few ornamental articles of feather-work for state occasions,) the efforts of the

missionaries have effected some change in those brought under their influence. In a burning tropical clime, the propriety or policy of such fancied improvement is very questionable. If no immodesty is connected with nakedness in the eyes of the unsophisticated natives, it would seem hardly worth while to enlighten them upon such a subject, for the purpose of establishing a conformity to European customs.

Our author continues: "Their color is a copper tint, pleasing to the eye, and the skin, where constantly covered from the sun, is little darker than that of the natives of Southern Europe. Their hair is straight and coarse, and continues perfectly black till an advanced period of life. The general expression of the face is pleasing, though it varies with the tribe and the disposition of each person. Their eyes are black and piercing, and generally slant upwards a little towards the temple, which would give an unpleasant expression to the face, were it not relieved by the sweet expression of the mouth. The forehead generally recedes, though in a less degree than in the African; there is, however, much difference in this respect, and in some individuals it is well formed and prominent."

The usual division of labor among savage nations is observed in Guiana. The daily drudgery of the household belongs to the women, who also cultivate the small fields in which the yuca, (the root from which they make their bread,) and the other cultivated crops are raised. The men pursue their hunting and fishing, and undertake the more severe labors attendant upon the building their huts, the clearing of new ground, &c.

The native dwelling is generally little more than a roof of palm-leaf thatch supported upon posts, between which hang the cotton hammocks in which the occupants sleep. Some few implements of iron-ware, and articles of pottery of a more substantial and practical form than that manu-

factured by themselves, are generally procured by trade with the coast, but these are all of the simplest description.

Maize, with cassava, yams, potatoes and other roots, constitutes their principal vegetable food. The cassava is prepared by grating, or scraping, and subsequent pressure in a receptacle of basket-work. This strainer is constructed in the form of a "long tube, open at the top and closed at the bottom, to which a strong loop is attached. The pulpy mass of cassava is placed in this, and it is suspended from a beam. One end of a large staff is then placed through the loop at the bottom, the woman sits upon the centre of the staff, or attaches a heavy stone to the end, and the weight stretches the elastic tube, which presses the cassava inside, causing the juice to flow through the interstices of the plaited material of which it is made. This liquor is carefully collected in a vessel placed beneath. It is a most deadly poison; but after being boiled, it becomes perfectly wholesome, and is the nutritious sauce, called casareep, which forms the principal ingredient in the pepper-pot, a favourite dish of the country."

THE ABORIGINES OF PERU.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE QUICHUAS, AYMARAS, ATACAMAS, AND CHANGOS—NATURE OF THE COUNTRY—PERUVIAN WORKS OF ART, ETC.—FIRST RUMORS OF THE WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY—EXPEDITION OF PASCUAL DE ANDAGOYA—FRANCISCO PIZARRO: HIS FIRST VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY—ALMAGRO'S VOYAGE—CONTRACT OF PIZARRO, ALMAGRO, AND LUQUE—THE SECOND EXPEDITION—PIZARRO AND HIS COMPANIONS UPON THE ISLE OF GORGONA—CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE—TUMBEZ—RETURN TO PANAMA.

THE Peruvian and Araucanian races alone, among the South American aborigines, present subjects of interest to the historian. The other tribes of that great portion of the western continent are at an infinite remove from these in the scale of civilization, and can scarce be said to have any separate national history. We shall describe their habits and physical appearance, much as we should enter upon the duties of the writer upon natural history: an attempt to arrange a serial narrative of events, as connected with them would be useless.

Widely contrasted with the wild and savage tribes of the interior, and of the eastern coast, the Peruvians offer, in their character and history, a fruitful theme for the attention and research of the historian and the philosopher. As a nation, they were, when discovered by Europeans, perfectly unique. Such refinements in government,

TACAMAS,
ORKS OF
NTRY—
IZAR-
YAGE
HE
S

long the
terest to
rtion of
m these
to have
be their
ld enter
ory: an
as con-

ibes of
as offer,
for the
philoso-
y Euro-
rnment,



FRANCISCO PIZARRO.

such unity of purpose, and such perfect system, as were observable in all their customs and usages, have never been even attempted, much less accomplished, by any other community throughout the globe.

The physical conformation of the Quichua race, the most prominent among the ancient inhabitants of Peru, is somewhat singular. The effects of living at such an immense elevation as that of many of their cities, and of the great plateaus which they inhabit among the Andes, cause a remarkable development of the chest. The rarity of the air in mountainous districts render a much greater volume of it necessary in respiration. The Quichuas have therefore, according to M. d'Orbigny, "very large, square shoulders, a broad chest, very voluminous, highly arched, and longer than usual, which increases the size of the trunk. * * The extremities are nevertheless, very muscular, and bespeak great strength; the head is larger than usual in proportion to the rest of the body; the hands and feet are always small."

The Quichuas differ, in a marked manner, from most of the other South American nations, in the features of the countenance. These are said in some degree to approach the Mexican type. A prominent acquiline nose, large nostrils, the forehead somewhat retreating, a moderately full cerebral development, rather a large mouth, adorned with fine teeth, and a short but well defined chin, may be given as generally characteristic of the race.

The Quichuas have beautifully soft, thick, and flowing hair, but are almost destitute of beards. Their complexion is a brown olive, entirely distinct from the reddish or copper hue of most of the North American Indians. It approaches that of the mulatto more nearly than that of the other American aborigines, and is spoken of as singularly uniform. They are of low stature, particularly those who live in the more elevated regions. Their general

physiognomy, in the words of the author above cited, "is, upon the whole, uniform, serious, reflective, melancholy, without, however, showing indifference: it denotes rather penetration without frankness. * * Their features altogether retain a mediocrity of expression. The women are seldom very handsome; their noses are not so prominent or curved as those of the men: the latter, although they have no beard, have a masculine expression, derived from their strongly-marked features. An ancient vase, which represents with striking fidelity, the features of the present race of Quichuas convinces us that for four and five centuries their physiognomy has undergone no sensible alteration."

The Aymaras, the second in the grand division of the Peruvian races, bear a close resemblance to those just described. In early times the strange and unnatural custom of flattening the head obtained among them, as is fully proved by the contour of many skulls found in their ancient places of burial or deposit.

No material variation from the Quichuan bodily formation is noticeable in the Atacamas, who inhabit the western slope of the Andes; but the Changos, dwelling upon the hot levels of the sea-coast, "are of darker hue: their colour is a tawny, approaching to black."

The country inhabited by these three races, although lying within the tropics, and in certain localities luxuriantly rich and fertile, presents obstacles to the agriculturalist, which would seem almost insurmountable. Nothing but the whole industry of a great nation, directed systematically to the work of reclamation and improvement, could ever have made Peru what it was in the days of the Incas.

A flat and sterile plain, washed by the Pacific, forms the western boundary of the ancient empire. On this district rain never falls; at least, the few drops which at certain

seasons sprinkle the surface, are insufficient to avail in the slightest degree for the promotion of fertility. From the stupendous mountain ranges which extend in an unbroken course throughout the western sea-board of South America, impetuous torrents pour down through the plains toward the sea, and, by a laborious and ingenious diversion, these streams were led by the ancient Peruvians in long and massive aqueducts to irrigate the plain or the terraces wrought upon the steep sides of the mountains. Some mention has been made, in a former chapter, of the ruins which still remain to attest the advancement and enterprise of the ancient Peruvians, particularly of the great roads by which ready communication was opened over the most rugged and naturally impassable country in the world. A further description of some of these relics will be given hereafter, as connected with their wonderful system of government, and its effects in the accomplishment of public works.

Mexico had already fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, and their settlements had long been established upon the Isthmus, before the world obtained any knowledge of the western coast of South America. The national thirst for gold, only the more excited by the successes in contest with the Aztecs, was roused anew by reports gathered from the natives of the Isthmus, of a far richer and more magnificent empire at the South.

The first attempt to explore the coast to the southward had been made in 1522, by Pascual de Andagoya, but he proceeded no further than the Puerto de Pinas, near the mouth of the small river Biru. Two years passed away without any farther discoveries, at the end of which time, the matter was taken in hand by a man whose character leaves us at a loss whether we should the more ad-

mire his courage, fortitude, and indomitable energy, or execrate his cruelty and unscrupulous rapacity. This man was Francisco Pizarro. He was, at this time, about fifty years of age, the last ten of which, at least, he had passed amid the stirring scenes of discovery and conquest in the New World. He had, among other adventures, shared the dangers and the exultation of Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, in his first passage of the Isthmus, and his discovery of the Western Ocean. He was now residing near Panama, and is said to have accumulated but a small landed property as the reward of his long labors and privations.

Pizarro was the illegitimate son of a colonel of infantry, named Gonzalo Pizarro, and a woman of low rank, residing at Truxilio, in Spain, in which city the future conqueror was born. In the great enterprise of the conquest of Peru, he was associated with one Diego de Almagro, a man of more uncertain origin, and less favored by worldly prosperity, even than himself. This companion in arms was, at all events, a brave and gallant soldier. Fortunately for the two adventurers, they succeeded in securing the assistance of Hernando de Luque, an ecclesiastic occupied in the duties of his profession at Panama. With such funds as could be raised by these three, a vessel was procured, and about one hundred men were enlisted to share the danger and profits of the expedition. Pedrarias, the Spanish governor, sanctioned the proceeding, stipulating, at the same time, for a proportion of the gold that should be brought home.

In November, 1524, Pizarro set sail, leaving Almagro to prepare another vessel which they had purchased, and to follow as soon as possible. Nothing but disaster marked this first voyage. Storms at sea; conflicts with natives on shore; sickness, exposure, and starvation, thinned the numbers and broke down the spirit of the party. Pizarro

alone appears to have maintained an unshaken fortitude and determination.

No provisions could be procured at the spots where the voyagers landed, and it became necessary to send the vessel back for supplies. About half the company, under one Montenegro, was dispatched for this purpose, leaving the rest of the adventurers upon the swampy, unwholesome coast, not far from the mouth of the Biru, to support themselves as best they could amid an almost impenetrable wilderness of rank tropical vegetation. Nearly half their number perished before any relief was obtained. When at the extremity of distress, the sight of a distant light amid the forest awakened their hopes, and Pizarro, with a small scouting party, led by this token of human habitation, penetrated the thicket to an Indian village. His hungry followers seized on whatever offered. As the natives, who had at first fled in terror, gradually approached and held communication with them, their hopes were again revived by the sight of rude ornaments in gold, and by the confirmation of the reports concerning a rich empire at the south.

It was six weeks from the time of his departure before Montenegro returned to rescue his remaining companions. With renewed hope and zeal, the party rëembarked, and continued to coast along the shore. After landing at other places, and experiencing severe encounters with the warlike natives, it was found necessary to return to Panama to rēfit.

Almagro, in the mean time, had followed in the same course, with the second vessel, and landed at most of the places visited by Pizarro. He was more successful in his engagements with the natives than the first party had proved; and succeeded in extending his voyage as far south as the river of San Juan. At this place unmistakeable tokens of approach to a well-cultivated and inhab-

ited country presented themselves. Finding no further traces of Pizarro and his companions, and supposing that they must have perished or have been compelled to return, Almagro now turned his course towards Panama. He brought home more gold and more favorable reports than his partner; but the disasters, losses, and miserable condition of the first voyagers tended to throw almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of a second attempt.

The three confederates—Pizarro, Almagro, and Father Luque—continued as sanguine as ever. The necessary funds were obtained by the latter, as is said, of one Gaspar de Espinosa, in whose name he acted, and in whose behalf he stipulated for one-third of all returns which should result from a successful completion of the immense undertaking. A solemn contract was entered into between the parties, strengthened by all the ceremonials of oaths and religious services. Neither of the two soldiers could write, and their signatures were executed in their presence, by the witnesses to the instrument of contract.

Pedrarias had been succeeded by Don Pedro de los Rios, and the new governor assented to the second expedition. This was undertaken with two vessels, carrying about one hundred and sixty men and a few horses. The services of Bartholomew Ruiz, a skilful pilot, were secured. The adventurers steered direct for the mouth of the San Juan, and, landing at an Indian village on the river, obtained some plunder in gold, and seized upon the persons of a few of the natives. The country appeared too populous to offer much chance of success to such a small band of invaders. Almagro was therefore sent back to enlist more men at home, while Ruiz, with the other vessel, explored the coast further to the south, and Pizarro remained near the river, with a portion of the crew. The latter endured much from famine, exposure, and fatigue, during the absence of Ruiz. Attempting to penetrate into the interior

in hopes of finding a more open country, they were completely worn down and dispirited.

The pilot, in the mean time, had made his way far southward. He had crossed the equator, and touched at several places, where the dense population and well-built dwellings gave proofs of no little advancement in civilization. He brought with him several Indian prisoners, taken at sea, upon one of the rude boats, or rather rafts, called "balsas," in which they were voyaging. Some of these were from the port of Tumbez, and their marvellous accounts of the quantities of gold and silver used by their monarch, roused anew the cupidity of the Spaniards.

Almagro soon after arrived with numerous fresh recruits, and, what with the glowing reports of Ruiz, and this addition to their force, the weakened and despairing followers of Pizarro rēgained their former hopes and courage. The whole company again set sail for the land of promise. At Tacames, near the mouth of the Santiago, where the present town of Esmeraldas is situated, the flourishing appearance of the country invited the voyagers to land; but they were opposed by thousands of armed natives, who attacked them with great fury. It was supposed that all the Christians must have perished in this onslaught, but for a strange mistake on the part of the Indians. A few of the Spaniards were mounted upon horses—a sight never before witnessed in Peru—and one of the cavaliers happening to fall from his horse, the Indians supposed that a single enemy had become two. The horse and his rider were taken for but one animal, and the confusion and amazement caused by the sight of such a prodigious separation, gave the Spaniards an opportunity to retreat.

It was plain that a greater force was necessary to make any advantageous progress in the new empire, and again was one of the little vessels sent back to Panama for rein-

forcements, while Pizarro and a portion of his forces took up their quarters upon the little island of Gallo. They suffered every extremity before supplies reached them from the north, and when two vessels loaded with stores made their appearance, there was a general cry for return.

Pizarro, fortified in his determination by encouraging letters from his allies, harangued his followers, and gave them their free choice whether to go forward in search of fame and wealth, or to return in poverty and disgrace to Panama. Thirteen only had the resolution to proffer their further services. The commander of the store-ships, who was instructed by the governor to bring back the party, refused to leave either of his vessels for the use of these few valorous spirits, and, grudgingly bestowing upon them a portion of his provisions, set sail, leaving them, as was supposed, to certain destruction.

Upon this island, and upon that of Gorgona, twenty-five leagues to the northward, (whither they migrated on a raft, for better quarters,) the little party spent seven miserable and solitary months. By great exertions, Almagro and Luque procured another vessel, and the governor's permission to relieve their associates; but this was not obtained without a positive injunction to Pizarro to return within six months. No recruits were taken on board, beyond the necessary crew of the vessel. Ruiz had charge of the craft, and the sight of its approach soon gladdened the desponding hearts of the destitute and half-famished expectants at Gorgona.

Without hesitation the little band stood once more for the south, leaving two of their number ill on the island, in charge of some of the friendly natives, who were still detained in their company. After twenty days' sail, in which they passed, without landing, the spots of former exploration, the vessel entered the unknown gulf of Guayaquil.

As the Spaniards directed their course towards the city of Tumbez, the residence of the Indian captives, they encountered many natives, in the balsas which served them for boats. These strange craft were made of logs of light wood, secured together, and fitted with masts and sails. The crews of these rafts, in the midst of their amazement at the prodigy before their eyes, recognized the Indians on board, and learning from them that the strangers were bound merely upon exploration, returned to satisfy the curiosity of the eager crowds gathered upon the shore.

A peaceful communication was soon established, and the sea-wearied Spaniards were refreshed by bountiful supplies of the tropical luxuries furnished by the kindly natives. Llamas, or Peruvian camels, as they were called, were now for the first time exhibited and offered to the visitors. A great noble, of the royal race of the Incas, came on board, and was courteously entertained by Pizarro, who pointed out and explained the mysteries of the vessel and its accoutrements.

The officers of the Spanish company were, in turn, feasted at the house of the curaca, or governor of the province, and were shown the royal temple and fortresses. Some of the apartments were adorned with such a rich profusion of massive golden ornaments and plating, that the dazzled Spaniards now trusted in the speedy realization of their long-deferred hopes.

From Tumbez, Pizarro coasted southward as far as the island and port of Santa, some distance beyond the site of the present Truxillo, stopping at various towns and settlements on his route. The strangers were every where received with hospitality, kindness, and the most lively curiosity, and enough was seen fully to convince them of the richness, civilization, and prosperity of the thickly populated empire.

Returning to Panama, they again stopped at Tumbez and

other important ports, and thence brought away specimens of the productions of the country; among other things, a number of llamas. At their own request, several of the Spaniards were left at Tumbez, to enjoy the luxury and ease which seemed to be offered by a life among the kindly natives. A young Peruvian, named Felipillo, with one or two companions, was taken on board the vessel, that he might be instructed in the Spanish language, and that his appearance might satisfy the incredulous, at home, as to the character of the inhabitants of Peru.

The troubles of the enterprising trio to whom these discoveries were owing were not yet at an end. The derision and contumely which had tended so long to damp their spirits, was, indeed, changed to congratulations and eager astonishment at the return and reports of Pizarro; but the governor frowned upon the prosecution of the enterprise. "He did not wish," says Herrera, "to depopulate his own district in order to people new countries"—the gold, silver, and sheep which had been exhibited, seemed to him but a paltry return for the expenditure of such an amount of lives and money, and the endurance of such hardships and suffering as were the fruits of the first expeditions.

Before continuing the account of the steps by which the great work of conquest was finally achieved, it will be well to take a brief view of the condition of the devoted country at the period of its discovery.

The two great monarchies of Mexico and Peru, both of them in a state of semi-civilization at the period of Spanish discoveries and conquests, are closely associated in our minds. The thoughts of one naturally suggests that of the other. We shall, however, find, upon an examination of history, that these nations were widely dissimilar: neither, in all human probability, had any knowledge of the other's existence, and no intercourse could have been maintained between them from a period of the most remote antiquity.

Without going into a direct comparison between these countries, their respective governments, religion, and national customs, we shall enter sufficiently into particulars in treating the present subject, to give the reader such a general idea of its details that he can himself perceive the contrasts and dissimilarities above mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

MYTHOLOGICAL TRADITIONS—TOPA INCA YUPANQUI, AND HIS SON HUAYNA CAPAC—THE PERUVIAN CAPITAL—RELIGIOUS SYSTEM—GOVERNMENT—AGRARIAN LAW—LLAMAS—PUBLIC RECORDS: THE "QUIPU"—AGRICULTURE—MARRIAGES—WARLIKE POLICY OF THE INCAS—THE GREAT ROADS—CONTENTMENT OF THE NATIVES—DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE: HUASCAR AND ATAHUALLPA—CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY.

ACCORDING to Peruvian mythology, the whole country was, in early times, as savage and barbarous as the neighboring nations of the East. Manco Capac, and his sister and wife, Mama Oello Huaco, two children of the Sun, settling in the valley of Cuzco, began the work of regeneration. They taught the arts of civilized life, and from them sprang the long line of the Incas whose glorious kingdom was at the height of its prosperity when discovered by the Spaniards. Other traditions, more worthy of study and reflection, speak of "*bearded white men*," to whose immigration the commencement of improvement was due.

We gather little of connected or reliable tradition earlier than the reign of Topa Inca Yupanqui. This monarch's victories widely extended the domains bequeathed him by his ancestors. By his warlike achievements, and those of his son, Huayna Capac, the Peruvian empire was extended from the southern portion of Chili to the boundaries of the

present republic of New Grenada. The centre of government, and site of the royal palace, the great temple of the sun, and the most celebrated fortification, were at Cuzco, in the interior. The town was situated in a valley of the table-land, at an immense height above the level of the sea, an altitude which secured to it a delightful climate in those tropical regions.

The principal buildings of the capital were of hewn stone, wrought entirely by instruments of copper, hardened by an alloy of tin; for, like the Mexicans, the people of Peru were entirely ignorant of the use of iron. A certain perfection of workmanship, seldom attempted in more advanced nations, and only elsewhere observable in the casings of the great Egyptian pyramids, is described as peculiar to the laying of the courses of stone in these ancient buildings. For the most part no cement was used, but the blocks were so accurately fitted that "it was impossible to introduce even the blade of a knife between them." Mr. Prescott, giving, as his authority, the measurements and descriptions of Acosta and Garcilasso, says: "Many of these stones were of vast size; some of them being full thirty-eight feet long, by eighteen broad, and six feet thick. * * These enormous masses were hewn from their native bed, and fashioned into shape by a people ignorant of the use of iron; they were brought from quarries, from four to fifteen leagues distant, without the aid of beasts of burden; were transported across rivers and ravines, raised to their elevated position on the sierra, and finally adjusted there with the nicest accuracy, without the knowledge of tools and machinery familiar to the European."

At Cuzco stood the great temple of the sun, by far the most resplendent with gold and ornament of all the public edifices of Peru. The description of this central point of the religious system of the country vies with those of

fairy palaces in Arabian tales. It was built of stone, but, by a strange contrast of magnificence with rudeness, was thatched with straw. The most striking object in the interior was a huge golden sun, represented by the figure of a human face, surrounded with rays. This was so placed as to receive the first beams of the rising sun. The whole building sparkled with golden ornament; even upon the outside a heavy belt of gold is said to have been let into the stone wall around the whole extent of the edifice. Great vases of the precious metals stood in the open space of the interior, filled with offerings of maize, and no less valuable material was used for the various tools and implements connected with the establishment.

This profusion of gold and silver, which, although in inferior degree, was noticeable in the royal palaces and temples throughout the empire, resulted from the circumstance that the mines were a government monopoly. No money was used, and consequently the whole product of the country, in this line, was collected in the coffers of the Inca, or displayed in the gorgeous ornaments which adorned the temples. The mines were worked by bodies of laborers systematically drafted from the common people, to serve for specified periods.

The Peruvians had some idea of an invisible deity, whose supremacy they acknowledged, and to whom homage was rendered, but the sun was their chief object of worship. The moon and stars took the place of subordinate divinities. By virtue of his office, the Inca was the head of the visible church, and high-priest of the sun; all the other religious functionaries were of the nobility, viz: descendants in the male line of the royal family. One lawful wife gave birth to the successor to the throne, but from the innumerable concubines kept by the emperor sprang the race of Inca nobility, distinguished by dress and occupation from the body of the people.

A most singular resemblance to the ancient order of the vestal virgins existed in that of the Peruvian Virgins of the Sun. These were set apart, at an early age, for the services of the temple, the preparations of its tapestry and ornaments, and especially for the preservation of the sacred fire. Terrible penalties followed the violation of chastity by either of these devotees, always excepting the privileges of the Inca, to whom they were subservient as "brides," or concubines. The office did not necessarily continue during life: many of these "Virgins" were dismissed to their paternal homes from time to time, and were ever thereafter held in great honor and veneration. The religious ceremonies and festivals familiar to the nation were singularly numerous and complicated: an enumeration of them would be, for the most part, wearisome and devoid of interest.

The Peruvian system of government merits a more particular attention. Here, for the first time in the history of the world, we see the results of a paternal despotism carried to its most extravagant extent, yet meeting the apparent wants of the people, and universally acquiesced in and approved by them. From generation to generation the whole mass of the commonalty was shut out from any possibility of change or improvement, and subjected to immutable rules in every employment or privilege of life.

The whole empire was minutely divided and subdivided into districts, according to population, and over each of these departments a curaca or governor was set to maintain law. The penal code was sufficiently severe, and rigidly enforced; in all matters of private right there was no room for contention among the citizens, as the state prescribed every man's place of residence, the amount and nature of his employment, and the provision necessary for his support.

The government assumed the entire ownership of the

soil, which was divided into three parts for the following uses: The first was set apart to support the whole extensive system of religion; the second sustained the royal court, and furnished the "civil list" for the accomplishment of all public works, and to defray the current expenses of the empire; and the third was yearly divided among the people. The apportionment was made to each family, according to its numbers, and, unless some good cause should appear to the contrary, it is supposed that the same spot was continued in the possession of its proprietor from year to year. The public domains were cultivated by the people in mass, and, in the management of the private allotments, vigilant care was taken, by the appropriate officers, that no one should be idle, no one over-burdened with labor, and no one in a state of suffering from want.

The only beast of burden in Peru was the llama. The immense herds of this animal were, without exception, the property of the state, and under the management of government officials. The wool and hair of the llama furnished the most important material for the clothing of the whole population, but before it reached its ultimate destination it must pass through the hands of appointed agents, and, after the separation and preparation of the portion devoted to religious and royal purposes, be equitably parcelled out and distributed among the private families. The manufacture of cloth was more especially the business of women and children. No man had the power to choose his own employment. A select number of artisans were set apart and instructed in such mechanical sciences as were known to the age and country, while the mass of the population were employed in agricultural labors, or, by a systematic apportionment among the different districts, were engaged upon the vast works of public utility or magnificence which astonished the eyes of the Spanish invaders.

The most exact accounts were kept, by certain appointed officers, of the entire population and resources of the empire. No birth, marriage, or death, was suffered to pass unchronicled, and an immense amount of statistical matter, relative to the condition of the people, the productions of the soil, the extent of manufactures, &c., was regularly and systematically returned to the proper department. The substitute for writing, by which these results, and even much more abstract particulars (as of dates and historical events), were perpetuated, was exceedingly ingenious and unique. It consisted of the "quipu," viz: a cord of strands varying in color, from which depended numerous short threads at regular distances. A series of knots in these appendages (which were, like the strands of the main cord, of various colors) served to express any amount in numbers, and the difference in hue designated the subject to which they were applied. The endless combinations which could be effected in this system of knots might, as we can readily perceive, be extended to the expression of a very wide range of ideas. In the words of Mr. Prescott: "The peculiar knot, or color, in this way (by association) suggested what it could not venture to represent; in the same manner—to borrow the homely illustration of an old writer—as the number of the Commandment calls to mind the Commandment itself. * * * The narrative thus concocted could be communicated only by oral tradition; but the quipus served the chronicler to arrange the incidents with method, and to refresh his memory."

In some of the sciences, particularly in astronomy, the Peruvians were far behind the Aztecs. A few simple observations of the movements of the planets; and the measurement of shadows to mark the solstices, equinoxes, &c., formed the limit of their speculations or experiments. In the more practical and necessary arts of husbandry and agriculture, not even the laborious and patient population

of China could excel the subjects of the Incas. The extent of the acqueducts, to conduct the mountain-streams through the arid fields where rain never fell; the immense excavations made to reach a moist soil, fifteen or twenty feet below the surface; and other mighty undertakings which individual enterprise could never have accomplished, evince the effects that a complete centralization of power can produce. Were it not for the ruins, of which modern travellers give us measurement and description, we should be tempted to throw aside the early histories of Peruvian achievements as gross exaggerations. The use of guano for manure was common, and the gathering and application of it were in accordance with rigid and careful regulations. The destruction, or even the disturbance of the birds to whom the formation is owing, was punished by death. A plough was used in the cultivation of the land, but it was rudely and simply constructed of wood, and was forced through the earth by human thews and sinews. The unequalled diversity in soil and climate provided suitable localities for a variety in vegetable productions seldom seen within the same limits. Bananas, Indian corn, potatoes, a grain called quinoa, and many other well-known crops, were successfully cultivated. The desire for stimulants and narcotics, so universal to mankind, was satisfied by a liquor brewed from maize, by tobacco, and by the coca or cuca, whose leaves possess something of the sedative qualities of the latter plant.

We have mentioned the control exercised by the government over the private affairs of every citizen: this extended even to the ties of affinity. Every person was required to marry at an appointed age, (eighteen in females, and twenty-four in males,) and, although a certain degree of choice was left to the individual in the selection of a partner, it must be confined within a specified district or community. The Inca always married his sister, that the

purity of the royal blood might not be contaminated, but such a connection was forbidden between any of lower rank.

Although the mass of the people were constantly employed in the operations of peaceful husbandry, the policy of the Inca dynasty towards neighboring nations was essentially warlike. The youth of the nobility, and especially the presumptive heir to the throne, were instructed in the arts of war, and subjected to a routine of bodily exercise and trials of fortitude not unlike that practised by the ruder nations of North America, in the initiation of their future warriors.

An extensive militia system was enforced, and, in time of war, troops were drafted from the different districts in some proportion to the population; regard being had to the hardihood and energy of the various races, in making the levy. Axes, lances, darts, bows and arrows, and slings, formed the principal weapons of offence. The soldiers were also supplied with the quilted coats of such common use in past ages, to ward off arrows and sword-thrusts, and with helmets of skins or wood.

The great roads, led along the mountain ridges, or by the level plain of the sea-coast, furnished ready means of transit to the royal armies throughout the extent of the empire. Enough of these yet remains to excite the admiration of every traveller. Of the principal of these roads, Mr. Prescott speaks as follows: "It was conducted over pathless sierras buried in snow; galleries were cut for leagues through the living rock; rivers were crossed by means of bridges that hung suspended in the air; precipices were scaled by stairways hewn out of the native bed; ravines of hideous depth were filled up with solid masonry; in short, all the difficulties that beset a wild and mountainous region, and which might appall the most courageous engineer of modern times, were encountered and successfully overcome. The length of the road, of

which scattered fragments only remain, is variously estimated from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles." No celebrated conqueror of the old world ever pursued such perfect system and method in the conduct of a campaign as did the Incas. Stations for couriers were built at regular intervals throughout the main routes, by means of which messages or light burdens could be conveyed with incredible celerity to any required distance. Granaries and store-houses filled with supplies for the army stood, under care of appointed officers, at convenient intervals, and all these provisions and supplies being furnished from the state funds, no man felt them as an extraordinary burden.

A strange but sagacious policy was observed towards a conquered nation. The Peruvian worship of the sun was immediately introduced; all the laws of the empire were enforced, and its customs established; but, that the yoke might not be too galling, the privileges as well as the duties of a subject were extended to the conquered people. The former nobles and governors were not uncommonly continued in office, and a paternal care was taken of the necessities and interests of the whole populace. With all this, no steps were omitted which would tend to completely denationalize the newly-acquired country. Large colonies of Peruvians were transplanted from their own country to the new, and their places supplied by an equal number of those whose habitations they occupied. The language of the conquerors was every where introduced, and its use encouraged until, with the lapse of years, a complete assimilation was brought about.

All this complete course of despotism was said by the Spanish historians, who wrote from observation, and before the old order of things was entirely overturned, to be precisely that which was best adapted to the Peruvian race, and to the country and climate which they inhabited. The people were contented with their lot, and looked upon

their priests and rulers with the utmost reverence. "No man could be rich," says Prescott, "no man could be poor, in Peru; but all might enjoy, and did enjoy, a competence. Ambition, avarice, the love of change, the morbid spirit of discontent, those passions which most agitate the minds of men, found no place in the bosom of the Peruvian. * * He moved on in the same unbroken circle in which his fathers had moved before him, and in which his children were to follow."

We cannot help a feeling of natural regret that the ruthless invasion of the Spaniards should have uprooted all these ancient and venerated customs. There was not, as with the Aztecs, a bloody system of religion, whose annihilation could reconcile us to almost any violence on the part of those who came to overturn it. There were, indeed, occasional scenes of human sacrifice at the great religious solemnities; but these were the exception, not the rule. The people at large lived on in peace and quietness, contented with the government and institutions under whose influence they lived, and by whose care they were secured in the possession of the competencies of life.

We have already mentioned the successes and conquests of Tupac Yupanqui, and his son Huayna Capac. The latter prince, having reduced the kingdom of Quito, the modern Equador, took up his residence at its capital, and devoted his attention to beautifying his acquisition, and establishing the Peruvian policy upon a firm basis throughout its limits.

The first expeditions of the Spaniards to the Peruvian coast, took place during the latter years of this monarch, and the accounts are said to have filled his mind with gloomy forebodings of the overthrow of his empire. His sagacious perception readily recognized the vast superiority over his own nation, evident in the vessels, arms, intelligence, and enterprise of the strangers. Huayna

Capac died about the year 1525, leaving his only legitimate son, Huascar, the regular successor to his throne. Instead of confirming the old order of descent, the king's fondness for another son, named Atahuallpa, (Atabalipa, as spelt by many old writers) led him, upon his death-bed, to bestow upon this favorite a portion of his kingdom. Upon the subversion of the ancient dynasty at Quito, Huayna Capac had taken the daughter of the last native prince as one of his concubines. From this union sprung the prince of whom we are speaking. The share of empire bequeathed to Atahuallpa was that of his maternal ancestors, in which his father had so long resided, and to whose improvement he had devoted his declining years. The rest of the wide domains of Peru were left in possession of Huascar.

This new order of things produced no evil effects for about five years. Huascar maintained his court at the old capital, Cuzco, while Atahuallpa remained at Quito; neither interfering with the other's rights of jurisdiction. Their respective subjects readily acquiesced in the new arrangement.

Different accounts are given of the first causes of rupture between the brothers; but whatever occasioned it, the contest which ensued was bloody and disastrous in the extreme. But for the disturbed and distracted state of the empire consequent upon this civil war, it would have been utterly impossible for the Spaniards, with the insignificant force which they finally brought into the field, to have overcome and subverted such an immense and powerful empire.

The first important engagement between the armies of the contending princes took place at Hambata, about sixty leagues south from Quito. In this battle, Huascar's forces were utterly defeated, and his victorious brother pressed onward to Tumebamba, no great distance from Tumbez. This city belonged to Atahuallpa's kingdom,

but the inhabitants had taken up arms in favor of Huascar. In vain did they sue for mercy from the conqueror: the whole district was ravaged, and all male adults were put to death. Proceeding on his march, Atahuallpa reached Caxamalca, where he took up his quarters, and sent forward the chief portion of his army to meet the forces prepared for the protection of the ancient capital of Peru.

A bloody and desperate battle was fought near the city, in which the invader was again completely victorious. Huascar was taken prisoner, and placed in close confinement, but his brother had enough of natural humanity to order that all respect should be shown him in his fallen fortunes. If we are to believe some accounts, Atahuallpa sullied the fame which his successes might have acquired him, by acts of the most unheard-of barbarity. It is said that he put to death, and that too by lingering tortures, all of the royal family upon whom he could lay his hands, including the female branches of the family, that he might cut off all possibility of a rival appearing to contest his right to the throne. Modern historians have pointed out so many discrepancies and improbabilities in the details of this transaction, that they must be now considered as grossly exaggerated, if not utterly false.

Atahuallpa, now claiming the title of Inca, and rejoicing in the possession of the whole of the immense empire of his father, held his court at Caxamalca. In the midst of his exultation and triumph, news was brought of a fresh arrival of Spanish ships upon the coast.

CHAPTER III.

PIZARRO'S VISIT TO SPAIN AND APPLICATION TO THE EMPEROR—HIS FOUR BROTHERS—FUNDS PROCURED FOR A NEW EXPEDITION TO PERU—VESSELS AGAIN FITTED OUT AT PANAMA—LANDING OF THE SPANIARDS UPON THE PERUVIAN COAST—PLUNDER AT COAQUE—THE MARCH TOWARDS TUMBEZ—BATTLES ON THE ISLE OF PUNA—TUMBEZ DESERTED—SETTLEMENT OF SAN MIGUEL—MARCH INTO THE INTERIOR—PASSAGE OF THE ANDES—MESSAGES FROM ATAHUALLPA—ENTRY INTO CAXAMALCA.

As Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque, received no encouragement from the governor, at Panama, in the prosecution of their plans; and as their funds were exhausted by the first expeditions, it became necessary to seek the assistance of some powerful patron, or to abandon the enterprise. In this emergency, Luque advised an immediate application to the Spanish court. In the discussion of the question as to who should undertake this duty, Almagro strongly urged the expediency of trusting the whole matter to the prudence and soldierly intrepidity of his unlettered companion-in-arms, Pizarro. He was the man who had seen and experienced more than any other of the nature of the land of promise, and his unflinching determination and perseverance seemed to qualify him as well to press his suit at court, as to undergo the disappointments and physical hardships of the conquest itself.

Pizarro consented to the proposal, and sailed for Spain, where he arrived early in the summer of 1528, carrying with him specimens of Peruvian art and wealth, together with natives of the country, and several of the beasts of burden peculiar to Peru. He was favorably received, and his accounts were credited by the Emperor Charles the Fifth; and the royal consent was obtained to the prosecu-

tion of the mighty undertaking of conquest. No pecuniary assistance, however, was rendered or promised. Prospective honors and emoluments were bestowed upon Pizarro and his two associates, contingent upon their success, and the latter to be drawn entirely from the conquered nation. Pizarro was to be governor, adelantado and alguacil mayor of Peru, which office he was to fill for life, and to which a large salary was to be attached. Almagro was placed in altogether an inferior position, as commander at Tumbez; and Father Luque was declared Bishop of that district, now to be converted into a see of the church. One-fifth of the gold and silver to be obtained by plunder, and one-tenth of all gained by mining was reserved as a royal perquisite.

Pizarro immediately set himself to raise funds and enlist men for the proposed conquest. He was joined by his four brothers, one of whom, Hernando Pizarro, was a legitimate son of Gonzalo. The other three, Gonzalo and Juan Pizarro, and Francisco de Alcontara were illegitimate children, and connected with the hero of our narrative, the two first on the father's side, the latter on that of the mother.

It was no easy matter to provide money for the necessary expenses of so hazardous an exploit as that proposed; but fortunately for Pizarro, Hernando Cortez, the renowned conqueror of Mexico, was at this time in Spain, and, after seeing and conferring with him, furnished, from his own ample stores, what was needed to complete an outfit.

Upon Pizarro's return to America, serious quarrels ensued between him and Almagro, who, as appears justly, thought himself grossly neglected in the arrangements entered into with the Spanish government. Luque also distrusted the good faith of his emissary, and it seemed too evident to both of these parties to the old contract, that Pizarro would readily throw them aside, should occa-

sion offer, and advance his own relations in their stead. These difficulties were, by Pizarro's representations, promises, and concessions, for the time smoothed over, and three vessels were fitted out at Panama for the grand expedition. Those in which the recruits had been brought over from Spain, were necessarily left upon the other side of the Isthmus.

It was not until January, of 1531, that the adventurers set sail. The company consisted of less than two hundred men, twenty-seven of whom were provided with horses; the advantage of even a small body of cavalry in fights with the Indians having been so strikingly apparent in the proceedings at Mexico. Tumbez, on the southern shore of the gulf of Guayaquil, was the port for which the little fleet steered its course, but, owing to head winds and other difficulties in navigation, a landing was made at the bay of St. Matthew's. Pizarro, with the armed force, went on shore at this place, not far from where Esmeraldas now stands, and marched southward, while the vessels coasted along the shore. Feeling himself strong enough to commence serious operations, the unprincipled invader no longer put on the cloak of friendship, but without warning fell upon the first Indian town in his route. This was in the district of Coaque. The natives fled, leaving their treasures to be seized and plundered by the Spaniards. A considerable quantity of gold, and a great number of the largest and most valuable emeralds fell into the hands of the rapacious adventurers. The spoil was collected, and publicly distributed, according to regulated portions, among the company, it being death to secrete any private plunder. The royal fifth was deducted previous to the division.

The vessels were sent back to Panama to excite, by the display of these treasures, the cupidity of new recruits, while the little army continued its march towards Tumbez.

The natives of the villages through which they passed, learning, in advance of the Spaniards' approach, the course pursued at Coaque, abandoned their homes, bearing all their valuables with them. Privation and suffering ensued. The tropical heat of the country, famine and fatigue, began to dishearten the troops. Worse than all, a singular and malignant cutaneous disease began to spread among them. Large warts or vascular excrescences broke out upon those attacked, which, if opened, bled so profusely as to cause death. "The epidemic," says Prescott, "which made its first appearance during this invasion, and which did not long survive it, spread over the whole country, sparing neither native nor white man."

The distresses of the Spaniards were somewhat relieved by the arrival of a vessel from Panama, in which came a number of new state officers, appointed by the Emperor Charles since Pizarro's departure from Spain, bringing with them a quantity of provision. With some slight further rëinforcement, the commander brought his troops to the gulf of Guayaquil, and, by invitation from the islanders, who had never been reduced by the Peruvian monarchs, and still maintained a desultory warfare with their forces, he took up his quarters upon the isle of Puna. The inhabitants of Tumbez, (lying, as we have mentioned, upon the southern shore of the gulf, and opposite the island,) came over, in large numbers, to welcome the whites, trusting to their friendly demonstrations at the time of the early expeditions. Difficulties soon arose from the bringing of these hostile Indian races in contact. Pizarro was told that a conspiracy had been formed by some of the island chiefs, to massacre him and his followers. Without delay, he seized upon the accused, and delivered them over to their old enemies of Tumbez for destruction. The consequence was a furious attack by the islanders. The thousands of dusky warriors who sur-

rounded the little encampment, were dispersed and driven into the thickets, with very small loss to the well-armed and mail-clad Europeans. The discharge of musketry, and the rush of mounted men, glistening with defensive armor, seldom failed to break the lines, and confuse the movements even of the bravest and most determined savages.

After their victory Pizarro found his situation extremely precarious, for the enemies whom he had driven into the forest continued to harass and weary his army by night attacks, and the difficulty of procuring provisions daily increased. He became desirous of passing over to the main as speedily as possible, and his good fortune sent him, at this period, such assistance as rendered the continuance of his enterprise more hopeful. This was afforded by the arrival of the celebrated Hernando de Soto, whose romantic adventures in after-life, have been briefly chronicled in the early part of this volume, under the title of the Florida Indians. De Soto brought out one hundred men and a considerable number of horses. Thus rëinforced, the commander of the expedition at once undertook the transportation of his men and stores across to Tumbez.

Instead of rejoicing their eyes with the splendor of this celebrated city, and luxuriating in its wealth, the Spaniards found the whole place dilapidated and deserted. Such of the Indians as appeared, manifested a decidedly hostile disposition, and several of the party engaged in transporting the baggage and provisions, upon balsas or rafts, were seized and slain. Most of the houses of the city were found to be destroyed, and the costly ornaments and decorations were all stripped from the temple. It cannot be certainly known, at this day, what were the causes for this conduct on the part of the people of Tumbez. The curaca of the place was taken prisoner by some of Pizarro's men, and his explanation of the matter was, that the war

with the Puna islanders had resulted in this demolition of the city. No certain intelligence was ever obtained of the fate of those whites who had been left at Tumbez at the time of the former expedition of discovery.

It now became evident to Pizarro that he should have some fixed place of settlement, where his troops might encamp and live in safety until a proper opportunity presented itself for more active operations. He therefore set himself to explore the country to the southward. In conducting this examination, he made use of a more conciliatory policy than heretofore, in his intercourse with the natives, and took pains to restrain, for the time, the rapacity of his followers. The result was that the Indians were in turn friendly and hospitable. A settlement was made, and the foundation of a town, called San Miguel, commenced on the river Piura. Numbers of the natives were reduced to vassalage, and distributed among the Spaniards to aid in the labor of improving and extending the village.

Pizarro had gathered information, by means of the interpreters in his company—the natives formerly taken by him to Spain—of the political state of the country, and of the present location of Atahuallpa, at or near Caxamalca. He had secured a considerable amount of gold, which was sent back to Panama, by consent of the company, and applied, after deducting the perquisites of the crown, to defray the expense of fitting out the expedition.

The whole summer was spent in these operations, and it was not until the 24th of September, 1532, that the commander was prepared to lead his small army into the interior. His whole force was less than two hundred men, from whom it was necessary to deduct a portion for the purpose of garrisoning San Miguel. On the march towards the enormous range of mountains which they were to cross, the Spaniards refrained from rapine and plunder.

They were therefore received with kindly curiosity by the inhabitants, and in their progress availed themselves without molestation of the public fortresses and sheltered stopping-places prepared upon the high roads for the use of the royal armies. They were delighted with the rich and highly-cultivated appearance of many of the beautiful vallies passed upon the route.

The company consisted of one hundred and seventy-seven men, of whom sixty-seven were mounted. From this number, nine malcontents were suffered by the prudent leader to return to San Miguel, upon pretence that the garrison left there was too weak, but in reality to prevent the spread of discontent among the troops.

In a hopeful spirit, and with strengthened confidence in their commander, the little cavalcade pressed on to Zaran, a fertile settlement amid the mountains. A few leagues south of this place, at Caxas, a garrison of the Inca's troops was said to be stationed, and thither Pizarro sent an embassy, under the direction of De Soto, to open a communication with the prince. The messengers were absent no less than a week; but they finally returned in safety, accompanied by one of the officers of the Inca, bearing rich presents and messages of welcome and invitation from the monarch in person. Pizarro received this noble with the respect due to his rank and position, bestowing upon him such gifts as would be most attractive in the eyes of a person ignorant of European arts. At his departure, the envoy was charged to tell his sovereign that the band of whites was subject to a great emperor of a distant country; that they had heard of the Inca's greatness and conquests, and had come to proffer their aid in his wars.

Continuing their march, the Spaniards reached the foot of the Andes. Nothing but the fiercest courage and the most undaunted resolution, both excited to the utmost by

the hope of boundless riches and rewards, could have stimulated such a handful of adventurers to undertake the ascent of this enormous range of mountains, where nothing could save them from utter destruction, should the forbearance of the natives cease. The main mountain road, stretching off to the southward towards the ancient Peruvian capital, tempted them to take their course in that direction, while across the mountains a narrow and difficult pass led towards the encampment of the Inca. It was determined to push on in the originally proposed direction. The vast and rugged elevations, rising one beyond another, must have appeared to the unpractised eye totally insurmountable.

> " * * * Those everlasting clouds,
> Seedtime and harvest, morning, noon, and night,
> Still where they were, steadfast, immovable—
> So massive, yet so shadowy, so ethereal,
> As to belong rather to Heaven than Earth—
> * * They seemed the barriers of a World,
> Saying, Thus far, no farther!"

The accounts of modern travellers have familiarized us with the details of the dangers attendant upon a passage of the Andes. What then must have been the attempt by these pioneers, totally ignorant of the route, and momentarily expecting an attack from the natives in passes where an army could be effectually checked by a handful of resolute men. Their fears of Indian treachery proved, however, groundless; they reached the summit in safety, and, while encamped about the fires rendered necessary by the sharp air of those elevated regions, messengers again appeared, sent by Atahuallpa to meet them. A present of llamas proved most acceptable to the wearied and suffering troops, and, from all that could be gathered by communion with the ambassadors, it did not appear probable that they would be molested upon their route.

Little doubt was entertained by Pizarro that the Inca fully intended to entrap and seize him as soon as he should be completely in his power, and surrounded by an irresistible force of his subjects. It was ascertained that Atahuallpa was encamped with a large army only three miles from Caxamalca, and that the city was abandoned by its inhabitants. This had a threatening appearance, but the Inca continued to send friendly messages, and as it was too late to think of retreat, even had their hearts now failed them, the Spaniards descended the eastern slope of the Andes, and entered the valley of Caxamalca. Every thing now seen gave tokens of prosperity, industry, and skill. "Below the adventurers," says Prescott, "with its white houses glittering in the sun, lay the little city of Caxamalca, like a sparkling gem on the dark skirts of the sierra." Farther on, the immense encampment of the Inca was seen in the distance, spotting the rising ground with countless tents. Marching through the valley, the troops entered the vacant city upon the 15th of November (1532).

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST INTERVIEW WITH THE INCA—PLANS FOR HIS CAPTURE—ENTRY OF ATAHUALLPA INTO CAXAMALCA—ADDRESS OF THE CHAPLAIN—ATTACK BY THE SPANIARDS: FEARFUL MASSACRE OF THE NATIVES, AND SEIZURE OF THE INCA—PRISONERS AND PLUNDER OBTAINED—THE PROMISED RANSOM—HERNANDO PIZARRO'S VISIT TO PACHACAMACA—CHALLCUCHIMA—MESSENGERS SENT TO CUZCO—IMMENSE TREASURE COLLECTED AT CAXAMALCA—TRIAL AND MURDER OF ATAHUALLPA.

A small party of horse, led by Hernando Pizarro and by the brave and chivalrous De Soto, was at once dispatched to report to the Inca the arrival of the Spaniards.

Dashing boldly up, upon their spirited horses, the Spaniards entered the space occupied by the Peruvian camp, and soon stood in the royal presence. Atahuallpa, distinguished by the "borla," or crimson fringe bound around the forehead, an ornament peculiar to the Incas, sat expecting their arrival, surrounded by his officers of state. He did not so far unbend his dignity as to pay the least attention to the novel appearance of the steel-clad cavalcade, but kept his eyes immovably fixed upon the ground. Without dismounting, Hernando saluted the monarch, and, through Felipillo's interpretation, made known his general's avowed purposes, and earnestly requested the king to visit the Spanish camp in person. One of the attendants, speaking in behalf of his master, briefly replied, "It is well."

Hernando still persisted in requesting the monarch to make known his pleasure, and to speak to them personally; whereupon Atahuallpa, turning his head, and looking upon him with a smile, announced that he was then in the observance of a fast, but would visit the Spanish quarters on the ensuing day. He further directed that the troops should confine themselves to the buildings situated upon the plaza or public square.

De Soto is said to have been mounted upon a noble charger, and, to excite the admiration of the Inca, he put his horse to his full speed, and wheeling suddenly, drew him short up immediately in front of the monarch. Atahuallpa's nerves were proof against this display, and he gave no signs whatever of any emotion. It was afterwards reported that he caused several of his attendants to be put to death for exhibiting alarm, upon this occasion, at the fury and spirit of the war-horse.

Some of the women of the royal household now offered the Spaniards the fermented drink of the country, "chicha," in golden goblets. This they drank in their saddles,

and then spurred back to the encampment at Caxamalca. Their report of the power of the Peruvian force tended greatly to discourage the little band of adventurers, but only served to nerve their bold and unscrupulous leader to a more determined purpose. Recollecting the success of Cortez in securing the person of Montezuma, and through him, for the time, controlling the officers of the capital, Pizarro determined upon the same policy. He made known his resolution to his officers, and then proceeded to distribute sentinels at points where they could command a view of the approaches to the city, and of the Peruvian camp.

At day-break on the following morning, Pizarro commenced his arrangements for the surprise and capture of the Inca. The great square (more properly, in this instance, a triangle) was surrounded with low buildings, with large entrances on the same level with the inclosed space. They were built partly of stone, but mostly of unburnt brick or clay. The Spanish cavalry, in two separate bodies, respectively under command of Hernando Pizarro and De Soto, was concealed in large halls, from which a sally could be made at a moment's warning. The foot-soldiers were stationed in another quarter, where they could most promptly second the efforts of the horse; and two small falconets, constituting the only artillery, were placed under charge of an officer called Pedro de Candia, from the place of his birth.

The Peruvian monarch, on his part, made preparations to appear in the utmost state, and to impress the eyes of the strangers with his power and magnificence. So much time was occupied in the movements of the immense army, that it was after noon before the Inca arrived at the city. He was about to pitch his camp without the walls, and postpone his visit till the following morning, had not Pizarro sent a message, earnestly requesting him not to

delay his coming, as all was ready for his entertainment Entirely unsuspicious of the perfidious intention of the Spaniards, Atahuallpa complied with the request. It was nearly sunset when he entered the town, accompanied by thousands upon thousands of obsequious but unarmed attendants. He was borne by numbers of his people upon a high palanquin, on a seat of massive gold, hung about and adorned with the most brilliant feathered work. His dress was equally magnificent, and sparkled with the rarest gems.

Arriving at the middle of the great square, with his people, to the number, as was computed, of from five to six thousand, ranged in respectful silence around him, Atahuallpa was surprised to see nothing of the Europeans. Presently, however, the chaplain, Vicente de Valverde, made his appearance, and, addressing the Inca, commenced a long-winded oration upon the religion of the Spaniards, the authority of their monarch and of the Pope, and the purposes of the expedition; and concluded by exhorting him to discard his idolatrous worship, to receive that now proffered, and to acknowledge himself the subject of the emperor! Old Purchas gives the following outline of the ecclesiastic's oration: "*Excellent Lord*, it behoveth you to know, That GOD in Trinitie and Vnitie made the world of nothing, and formed a man of the Earth whom he called *Adam*, of whom we all haue beginning. *Adam* sinned against his Creator by disobedience, and in him all his posteritie, except IESVS CHRIST: who, being GOD came down from Heaven and tooke flesh of the Virgine MARIE; and to redeeme Mankinde, died on a Crosse like to this (for which cause we worship it;) rose again the third day, and after fortie dayes, ascended into Heauen, leauing for his Vicar in Earth Saint *Peter*, and his Successours, which we call Popes; who haue giuen to the most Puissant King of Spaine, Emperour of

the Romanes the Monarchy of the World. Obey the Pope, and receiue the faith of CHRIST; and if yee shall beleeue it most holy, and that most false which yee haue, yee shall doe well; and knowe that, doing the contrarie, wee will make warre on you, and will take away and breake your Idols; therefore leaue the deceiuable religion of your false Gods." All this, (to him) tedious and incomprehensible jargon was interpreted to the Inca—according to report, with some rather ludicrous errors, in the explanation of the religious dogmas. He listened in silence until he heard the arrogant and insolent conclusion, when not even the apathy or self-control of the Indian was sufficient to enable him to conceal his indignation. He replied in language befitting a king, that no man could claim superiority over him, and that he would never abjure the religion of his country. "For the Emperor," he said, according to Purchas, "hee could be pleased to be the friend of so great a Prince, and to know him: but for the Pope, he would not obey him, which gaue away that which was not his owne, and tooke a Kingdome from him whom hee had neuer seene: as for Religion, hee liked well his owne, and neither would nor ought to call it in question, being so ancient and approued, especially seeing CHRIST dyed, which neuer befell the Sunne or Moone." Then taking from the Priest's hand the Bible or breviary which he held forth as the authority for his unheard-of assumption, the Inca threw it upon the ground, angrily announcing his determination of calling the Spaniards to a speedy account for their presumption, and for the wrongs already inflicted upon his nation.

The friar sought out Pizarro, and urged him to make an immediate attack, offering him absolution for any sin he might commit in so doing. The fierce Spaniard and his impatient troops were but too ready to accept this advice. All day had they kept their stations in a condi-

tion of the most trying suspense, ready every moment to be called to action. The appointed signal was instantly given, and in the midst of a discharge from the falconets and muskets, the whole force rushed furiously upon the unarmed crowd of natives. Never, in the history of the world, was a more bloody and remorseless massacre committed. In the short space intervening between sunset and darkness, several thousand of the miserable wretches were slain unresistingly. In vain did the nobles throng round their monarch, with noble self-devotion throwing away their lives for their master, and opposing their bodies to shield him from the weapons whose force they had no means to avert. The unhappy prince was taken prisoner, and securely confined in an adjoining building. The Spaniards were greatly struck with the appearance and noble demeanor of their royal captive. He is represented as not far from thirty years of age, of a well-built and commanding figure, with regular features and a singular majesty of expression—"his countenance might have been called handsome, but that his eyes, which were blood-shot, gave a fierce expression to his features."

The only Spaniard wounded during this bloody and horrible transaction was Pizarro himself, who received a wound in the hand from one of his own men, while endeavoring to ward off a blow aimed at the person of the Inca.

Next day the Indian prisoners were set at work to bury the heaps of their slaughtered companions, and detachments of troops were sent over to Atahuallpa's former place of encampment. These returned in a few hours, driving in great numbers of prisoners of both sexes, many of the women being those belonging to the Inca's household. The Spaniards reserved as many slaves as their need or pride required; the rest of the prisoners were set free, contrary to the advice of some in the army, who

were strenuous that they should be maimed or massacred. The victors were now at liberty to plunder at will, and their extravagance and waste had full scope. The vast flocks of llamas, so long the pride and support of the country, and over which such a systematic and watchful care had been exercised for ages, were slaughtered without stint, or left to roam neglected among the mountains. The stores of beautiful fabrics of wool and cotton, with which the city was stored, were open to the depredation of all; and no small amount of plunder, in gold, silver, and emeralds, was secured at the Peruvian camp, or taken from the bodies of the slain, and laid by for future division.

The Inca was, meanwhile, treated with a certain respect, but his person was most carefully guarded. He was allowed the services of his attendants, who, throughout his captivity, showed no diminution of obsequiousness and respect, but bowed as humbly before their revered monarch in his fallen fortunes, as when he sat upon his throne of state, the arbiter of life and death to all around him.

Atahuallpa could not fail to perceive what was the master motive to all acts of his captors. Appealing to this, he promised Pizarro that, if he would engage to set him at liberty, the floor of the room where they then stood, should be covered with gold for his ransom. The size of the apartment is variously stated, but it was at least seventeen feet broad, and twenty or thirty in length. As the Spaniards appeared to look upon this promise as an idle boast, the Inca raised his hand against the wall, and added that "he would not merely cover the floor, but would fill the room with gold as high as he could reach."

Pizarro accepted the offer, and a line was drawn around the room at the agreed height. The gold, whether in the form of bars and plates, or of vases and statuary, was to be piled without being broken up or reduced in bulk. Besides this undertaking, which was to be accomplished

within two months, a smaller room was to be filled "twice full of silver, in like manner." Messengers were immediately commissioned to order gold from every quarter of the kingdom, to be brought as speedily as possible for the ransom of the monarch.

Huascar, hearing, in his place of confinement, of the reverse which had befallen his brother, at once opened a communication with Pizarro, and made offers still more magnificent than those of Atahuallpa, if the Spaniards would espouse his cause. Pizarro expressed his determination to hear the claims of both parties, and to decide, from the evidence that should be adduced, as to their respective rights. Huascar was, very shortly after this, put to death by his keepers, as was generally believed, in accordance with secret instructions from Atahuallpa.

The royal mandate, commanding the desecration of the magnificent temples and palaces, by stripping them of their wealth of precious metals, was obeyed as speedily as practicable. Gold came in to Caxamalca in large quantities, but the difficulty of conveyance caused no little delay. While waiting the completion of his captive's undertaking, Pizarro sent emissaries to Cuzco to examine the condition and wealth of the country, and dispatched his brother Hernando, with a small party of horsemen, to visit the city of Pachacamac, three hundred miles distant, upon the sea-coast. Hernando returned to Caxamalca with glowing reports of the beauty and fertility of the country through which he had passed on this expedition. He had visited the city for which he had directed his course, and had destroyed the great idol upon the temple, the former object of worship to the inhabitants, and which had been allowed to maintain its place by the Peruvian conquerors, and to receive joint homage with the sun. In crossing the rocky and rugged mountains, the shoes of the horses gave out, and, as no iron was to be procured, it was necessary

to rēplace them with silver! or, as some say, with a mixture of silver and copper.

Hernando brought back with him Challcuchima, a veteran officer of the Inca's, and the most esteemed and trustworthy of his generals. He voluntarily accompanied the Spanish cavalcade, having been told by its leader that his monarch desired to see him. When the old soldier came into his master's presence, (barefoot, and carrying, according to custom, a small burden, in token of inferiority,) he lamented audibly that he had been absent at the time of his capture; and, weeping bitterly, kissed the hands and feet of the fallen prince. Atahuallpa preserved the calm, unbending dignity which he ever assumed in communications with his subjects.

The messengers sent to Cuzco demeaned themselves with the utmost pride and insolence. The whole of the long journey was accomplished in litters or sedan-chairs, borne by the natives. At the royal city these emissaries superintended the stripping of the great temple of its golden plates and ornaments, of which a vast weight was prepared for transportation to Caxamalca.

At the latter place of encampment, the Spanish army was very considerably rëinforced in the succeeding month of February, (1533,) by the arrival of Pizarro's old comrade Almagro. He brought with him, from the Spanish settlements on the Isthmus, two hundred well-armed soldiers, fifty of whom were cavalry. Thus recruited, Pizarro was eager to extend his conquests and acquisitions. The promises of the Inca were not, as yet, wholly fulfilled, although such piles of treasure were accumulated as might well astonish and satisfy even the eyes of the rapacious Spaniards. The beauty and finish of many of the massive vases and figures were long after admired by the artists of Europe. Among the representations of natural objects wrought in the precious metals, was the ear of

maize. Of this, the leaves and tassel were perfectly imitated in silver work, the yellow kernel within glistening with the purest gold.

It was determined to acquit the Inca of any further fulfilment of his promise, but to retain him a prisoner, and at once to break up and divide the treasure. Some of the more beautiful specimens of art were reserved to be sent to Spain; the rest was melted into ingots by the native artisans. "The total amount of the gold," as stated and computed by Mr. Prescott, "was found to be one million, three hundred and twenty-six thousand, five hundred and thirty-nine *pesos de oro*, which, allowing for the greater value of money in the sixteenth century, would be equivalent, probably, at the present time, to near *three millions and a half of pounds sterling*, or somewhat less than *fifteen millions and a half of dollars*. The quantity of silver was estimated at fifty-one thousand six hundred and ten marks." The gold, as above estimated, is, indeed, more than thrice the sum that the same weight of the precious metal would be worth at the present day. The *peso de oro* is said to have been, specifically, about equal to three dollars and seven cents.

Of all this booty, the crown had its fifth, and the rest was distributed in various proportions among the numerous claimants. But a small allowance was made to the new recruits, and still less to the settlers at San Miguel. Certain sums were devoted to the establishment of the Catholic religion in the new country.

Having now obtained all that was to be expected through the Inca's intervention, at least without such delays as their impatient spirits could not brook, the unprincipled horde of freebooters whose proceedings we are now recording, determined to rid themselves of a captive who had become an incumbrance.

The ridiculous farce of a trial was gone through, at

ectly imi
glistening

rther ful-
oner, and
me of the
be sent to
tive arti-
and com-
on, three
d thirty-
value of
uivalent,
ns and a
millions
vas esti-
marks."
n thrice
l would
said to
ars and

the rest
numer-
to the
Miguel.
of the

xpected
uch de-
unprin-
re now
ve who

ugh, at



THE INCA ATAHUALPA BEFORE PIZARRO.



THE INCA ATAHUALPA BEFORE PIZARRO.

which such accusations as the following were made, and pretended to be sustained: He had been guilty of polygamy; of "squandering the public's revenues since the conquest;" of idolatry [!]; of the murder of his brother Huascar; and of striving to excite a rebellion against the Spanish authorities! This last charge, the only one brought before the self-constituted court which is worthy of comment, was utterly unsustained. The country was perfectly quiet, and even the ingenuity of the prejudiced judges failed to connect the royal captive with any attempt at insurrection. It is said that the malice of the interpreter Felipillo induced him to distort the testimony adduced. This fellow had been engaged, as is said, in an intrigue with one of the Inca's women. The usefulness of the interpreter protected him from punishment, but the expressed indignation of the prince, excited the permanent rancour and ill-will of his inferior.

The unhappy Atahuallpa was sentenced to be burned alive in the public square that very night. When his doom was made known to him, he at first resorted to every entreaty and expostulation to move his murderers from their diabolical purpose. With tears he reminded Pizarro of the treasures he had lavished on the Spaniards, and the good faith which he had always shown, and promised a ransom far greater than that before brought in, if he could but have time to procure it, and if his life were spared. Seeing that entreaties and supplications availed nothing, the dignity and firm spirit of endurance of the monarch returned, and he calmly awaited his terrible fate. By the light of torches he was brought out and chained to the stake, and, at the last moment, submitted to the disgraceful mockery of an administration of the sacraments, and a formal profession of Christianity, that a speedier form of death might be awarded him. He perished by the infamous garotte.

Hernando de Soto, a man who, with the faults of his age and nation, was vastly superior to the merciless villains with whom he was associated, was absent at the time of this transaction, and on his return condemned the proceeding in strong terms. A small proportion of the company thought the same with De Soto, concerning the murder, but by far the greater number were but too glad to be rid of a troublesome captive, to trouble themselves about the means of accomplishing their purpose. Those chiefly concerned, felt sufficiently the disgrace attendant upon their acts, to endeavor to shift the responsibility upon each other.

In "Purchas, his Pilgrimage," is the following summary of the end of the principal agents in the murder of Atahuallpa: "Howbeit they killed him notwithstanding, and in a night strangled him. But God, the righteous Judge, seeing this villainous act, suffered none of those Spaniards to die by the course of Nature, but brought them to euill and shamefull ends. * * Almagro was executed by Piçarro, and he slaine by yong Almagro; and him Vacca de Castra did likewise put to death. John Piçarro was slaine of the Indians. Martin, an other of the Brethren, was slaine with Francis. Ferdinandus was imprisoned in Spaine & his end vnknowne; Gonzalez was done to death by Gasca. Soto died of thought in Florida; and ciuill warres eate vp the rest in Peru."

A condition of anarchy and intestine disturbance succeeded the death of the Inca, and the rude shock given by the Spanish invasion to the old system of arbitrary, but fixed and unchangeable laws. Seeing the value attached to the precious metals, the natives in many instances followed the example of the conquerors in plundering and destroying the public edifices of their own country. The quantity of gold and silver conveyed away and concealed for ever from the covetous eyes of the Europeans was said to have infinitely surpassed that which they had secured

CHAPTER V.

MARCH TOWARDS CUZCO—OPPOSITION OF THE NATIVES—DEATH OF TOPARCA, AND MURDER OF CHALLCUCHIMA—MANCO CAPAC—ENTRY INTO THE CAPITAL—BOOTY OBTAINED—ESCAPE OF MANCO, AND GENERAL INSURRECTION—SIEGE OF CUZCO—REVERSES OF THE SPANIARDS—CIVIL WARS—FURTHER HOSTILITIES OF MANCO CAPAC—CRUEL TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES—DEATH OF MANCO CAPAC—REFORMS UNDER PEDRO DE LA GASCA—TUPAC AMARU—INSURRECTION OF 1781—PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PERUVIAN INDIANS.

PIZARRO now declared the sovereignty of Peru to be vested in a brother of Atahuallpa named Toparco, and the ceremony of coronation was duly performed. Further stay at Caxamalca was deemed unadvisable, and, with the new Inca in company, the Spanish army pushed on towards the ancient capital of Peru, over the magnificent road of the Incas. The ascent of the mountain ridges was, indeed, arduous and perilous, as the road was intended only for foot passengers and the agile Peruvian sheep or "camel," as the animal was designated by early writers. As in former progresses, the granaries and halting-places prepared for the royal armies supplied abundant food and shelter.

The first attempt upon the part of the natives to arrest the progress of the cavalcade, was at Xauxa, where they collected to oppose the passage of a considerable stream. Resistance proved unavailing: the cavalry dashed through the river, and dispersed the crowd. Pizarro encamped at Xauxa, and commissioned De Soto, with sixty mounted men, to go forward, and see that all was safe for a further advance. As that cavalier approached Cuzco, after crossing the Apurimac, a tributary of the Amazon, his command was beset by a hostile force of Indians among the

dangerous passes of the mountain which he must cross to reach the capital. By superhuman efforts, the little party managed to force a way against the enemy until an elevated plateau was gained, where there was room for the movements of the horses. The natives, becoming more familiar with the arms and mode of fighting adopted by the Spaniards, fought with their natural courage and resolution, but could accomplish little after the cavalry had attained an advantageous position.

During the night, De Soto and his men were gladdened by the arrival of Almagro upon the field, with most of the cavalry left at Xauxa. Pizarro had received advices of the danger to which his advance was exposed, and promptly forwarded assistance. The whole Spanish force finally assembled at Xaquixaguana, but a few miles from Cuzco. In this delightful valley, a favorite resort of the Inca nobility, whose country-seats were every where scattered over its surface, the army encamped for rest and refreshment. At this place various charges were brought up against the noble old warrior, Challcuchima. The new Inca, Toparca, had died during the halt at Xauxa, and it was thought convenient to attribute his death, as well as the recent hostile movements, to the machinations of this dangerous prisoner. He was tried, condemned, and burned alive—the usual method of execution adopted by the Spaniards in the case of an Indian victim. It is to be trusted that another generation will look upon the barbarities still persisted in among the most enlightened nations of the present age, with the same sensations that are now aroused by the remembrance of the cruelties so universal in former times.

A new claimant to the throne of the Incas had now arisen in the person of Manco Capac, a brother of the ill-fated Huascar. The young prince, splendidly attended, came boldly to the Spanish camp, explained the grounds

of his claim, and requested the aid of Pizarro in establishing his rights. The general received him kindly, and seemed to accede to the proposal. In company with this new ally, after one more unimportant skirmish, the Spaniards entered Cuzco, on or about the 15th of November, 1533. They were delighted with the extent and magnificence of the city, and the liveliness and gayety of its inhabitants.

Temples, public edifices, royal palaces, and places of sepulture, were every where ransacked in search of gold, but orders had been given by Pizarro that private property should be respected. The rapacious plunderers were dissatisfied with the amount of treasure discovered, although no conquest in the history of the world was ever rewarded by such acquisitions of the precious metals, and proceeded to subject some of the natives to the torture, to compel a disclosure of their secret places of deposit.

"In a cavern near the city," says Prescott, "they found a number of vases of pure gold, richly embossed with the figures of serpents, locusts, and other animals. Among the spoil were four golden llamas, and ten or twelve statues of women, some of gold, others of silver, 'which merely to see,' says one of the conquerors, with some *naïveté*, 'was truly a great satisfaction.'" Upon the march, no small amount of booty had been secured: "In one place, for example, they met with ten planks or bars of solid silver, each piece being twenty feet in length, one foot in breadth, and two or three inches thick."

Manco Capac was solemnly crowned at Cuzco, by Pizarro, who, with his own hand, presented the imperial badge, the "borla" or red scarf for the forehead. The conqueror arranged a system of government for the city, giving his brothers Gonzalo and Juan the principal authority. The natives seemed to acquiesce readily in the new regulations, and joined hilariously in the festivities of the time.

Pizarro now bethought himself of establishing a capital for the new country in a more convenient location than either Cuzco or Quito, and in January, 1535, the foundations of the city of Lima were laid. Hernando Pizarro had been previously sent to Spain, with substantial specimens of the newly-acquired treasures. His appearance at court, and his details of strange adventure, excited an unprecedented enthusiasm and astonishment. Large additional emoluments and authorities were conferred upon the principal actors in the conquest; and Hernando returned to America, accompanied by numerous adventurers eager for fame and fortune in the new world. Almagro received, by royal grant, authority to conquer and possess an immense district, southward of Peru; and thither he took up his march, after a long series of bickerings and quarrels with Juan and Gonzalo, respecting conflicting claims at Cuzco.

The conquerors of the empire of the Incas became careless and secure: they little dreamed that there yet existed a warlike and determined spirit among the down-trodden natives, fated soon to raise a storm on every side, which not even Spanish valor and dogged determination could readily allay.

The young Inca, Manco Capac, indignant at the conduct of the rulers at Cuzco, and disgusted with the shadow of authority which he was himself allowed to exercise, made his escape from the surveillance of the Pizarros, and, rousing the whole country to arms, intrenched himself beyond the Yucay. Juan Pizarro in vain undertook his rēcapture. With a small body of cavalry, he did, indeed, gain a temporary advantage, but the effect of superstitious fears no longer operated to dismay the Indian warriors, and it was only by virtue of hard knocks, and by actual superiority in skill, weapons, and endurance, that they could be conquered. The numbers of the enemy were so great, and so fast increasing, that Juan was obliged, in a few days, to

return to Cuzco, which, as he was informed by a messenger, was now besieged by the Indians in still more overwhelming force.

In the elegant language of Mr. Prescott: "The extensive environs, as far as the eye could reach, were occupied by a mighty host, which an indefinite computation swelled to the number of two hundred thousand warriors. The dusky lines of the Indian battalions stretched out to the very verge of the mountains; while, all around, the eye saw only the crests and waving banners of chieftains, mingled with rich panoplies of feather-work, which reminded some few who had served under Cortes of the military costume of the Aztecs. Above all rose a forest of long lances and battle-axes edged with copper, which, tossed to and fro in wild confusion, glistened in the rays of the setting sun, like light playing on the surface of a dark and troubled ocean. It was the first time that the Spaniards had beheld an Indian army in all its terrors; such an army as the Incas led to battle, when the banner of the Sun was borne triumphant over the land."

It is almost inconceivable that such a handful of men as were gathered within the city-walls, should have been able to repel the force now gathered about them, and to maintain their position until the enemy, wearied with hopeless encounters, and suffering from want of provision, should be obliged to draw off.

The buildings of Cuzco were nearly all covered with a neatly arranged thatch, and this the assailants easily ignited by means of burning arrows. The whole city was wrapt in flames, and the Spaniards, encamped in the great plaza, nearly perished from the heat and smoke. When the flames subsided, after several days of terrible conflagration, one half of the proud capital was a heap of ruins.

Fierce battles and desperate hand-to-hand encounters succeeded: the Spaniards, with their accustomed bravery,

again and again charged the enemy in the field, but their numbers were so great, that success in these skirmishes was eventually useless. The sallies from the city were met and resisted with the most determined valor. As at the siege of Mexico, the Indians seemed to be careless of their own loss, so long as they could lessen the numbers of the whites, in however inferior degrees. They no longer fled in terror at the approach of the horse. They had even availed themselves of such of these useful animals as fell into their hands. Several of them were seen mounted, and the Inca himself, "accoutred in the European fashion, rode a war-horse which he managed with considerable address, and, with a long lance in his hand, led on his followers to the attack." There are bounds to the physical endurance of man and beast, and the Spaniards were obliged to submit to the siege, and to wait until assistance should arrive from without, or until the enemy should be weary of keeping watch upon them. The greatest annoyance was in the possession, by the Indians, of the great fortress, from the high towers of which their missiles were hurled with deadly effect upon all within reach.

It was determined to storm this intrenchment, and the service was most gallantly performed. Juan Pizarro, a cavalier spoken of as superior to either of his brothers in humanity, lost his life in its accomplishment. The Peruvian commander, after defending his post in person, with the most desperate valor, scorning to be taken prisoner, threw himself headlong from the highest tower, and perished.

The siege, which had commenced in the spring, continued until August, when, after months of anxiety and suffering, the little band of Spaniards were rejoiced to see the Inca's forces taking their departure. They had been dismissed by their leader to go home and attend to the necessary duties of husbandry. Manco intrenched himself at Tambo, south of the Yucay.

The rising among the Peruvians was very extensive and well concerted. Great numbers of detached plantations and settlements were destroyed, and their Spanish occupants slain. Pizarro made several ineffectual attempts to send relief to the garrison at Cuzco, which only resulted in heavy loss to his own people. A general feeling of gloom, apprehension, and discontent prevailed, and not a few of the settlers, at Lima and elsewhere, were anxious to abandon the country.

Upon the return of Almagro from his disastrous expedition to Chili, and his seizure of Cuzco, he succeeded in driving the Inca from Tambo into the mountains, where he sought out a solitary place of concealment until opportunity should offer for again arousing his people to resistance.

In the desolating civil wars which ensued among the rival Spanish claimants of the country, the rights and prosperity of the native inhabitants were utterly disregarded. They were unscrupulously enslaved and maltreated wherever the power of the Spaniards extended. In the distracted state of the country, the young Inca again renewed his efforts at resistance to his subjects' oppressors. Sallying from time to time from an encampment among the mountains, between Cuzco and the sea-coast, he did no little injury to the Spanish settlements, and rendered travelling unsafe, except in large and well-armed companies. Although frequently defeated by Pizarro's troops, he would only retire to meditate fresh attacks, and the Spanish commander finally thought it advisable to open a negotiation with him. A meeting was accordingly appointed in the valley of the Yucay, but the attempts at pacification were rendered abortive by mutual outrages. A negro messenger, sent by Pizarro to the Inca with a propitiatory offering, was robbed and murdered by some of the natives. The Spanish commander chose to attribute the act to Manco's orders, and proceeded to retaliate by

the dastardly and cruel murder of a young and beautiful wife of the Inca, who was a prisoner in his power. She was stripped naked, beaten, and afterwards shot with arrows. This cruelty was endured, on the part of the victim, with true Indian fortitude. What a strange contradiction it appears, that a man like this, with his dying lips (he was assassinated in 1541) should have pronounced the name of Him whose whole teaching and example breathed the spirit of gentleness and mercy, and that his last effort should have been to kiss the figure of the cross, drawn by his finger, in his own blood, upon the floor.

As the Spanish population of the country increased, the condition of the Indians became more and more wretched and deplorable. The old scenes at the West India Islands were rëenacted, and the brutal populace seemed to make cruelty and wanton outrage a matter of emulation. It was not enough to enslave the helpless natives, and to compel them upon insufficient nourishment, and scantily clothed, to undergo the killing labors of the mines and plantations; but the most capricious outrages were everywhere committed. They were hunted with dogs, for the sake of sport; all that they esteemed sacred was desecrated; their women were violated in the most shameless manner; and cruel tortures and death awaited him who should resist the oppressor, or invade his rights of property!

One of the most notorious abuses in the system of Spanish government, and which was maintained until after the insurrection of 1781, was called the "Repartimento." This was a compulsory distribution of European goods, which the natives were compelled to purchase at enormous prices. "The law was doubtless intended," it is said by Tschudi, "in its origin, for the advantage and convenience of the native Indians, by supplying them with necessaries at a reasonable price. But subsequently the Repartimiento

became a source of oppression and fraud, in the hands of the provincial authorities."

The system which regulated the services of laborers in the mines or on the plantations went by the name of the "Mita." Those Indians who were placed, by the operation of this species of conscription, under the power of the proprietors of the soil, were in a far more miserable condition than slaves in whom the master has a property, and whose health and lives he has an interest in preserving. Such a miserable pittance as was doled out for their support, and so severe and unceasing was the labor required at their hands, that an almost incredible number perished. "Some writers estimate at nine millions the number of Indians sacrificed in the mines in the course of three centuries."

When, by the intervention of Las Casas, the wrongs of the Indians received attention from the Spanish court, and extensive provisions were made for their freedom and protection, all Peru was in a state of tumultuous excitement. It was the general determination not to submit to such an infringement of the luxuries and profits of life in the New World, as that of placing the serfs under the care of the laws. In the midst of this turmoil, in 1544, the brave and patriotic Inca was slain by a party of Spaniards, who had fled to his camp during the factious disturbances by which the European settlements were convulsed. They paid the forfeit for this act with their lives.

The first effectual steps taken in behalf of the wasted and oppressed Peruvians, were under the viceroyalty of Pedro de la Gasca, between 1547 and 1550. By his efforts, a careful inquiry was instituted into the condition of the slaves; their arbitrary removal from their native districts was prohibited; and, above all, strict regulations were made, and—not without strong opposition—enforced, by which the kind and amount of their labor was precisely laid down.

Tupac Amaru, a son of Manco Capac, who had resided among the remote mountain districts of the interior since his father's death, was taken prisoner and put to death during the period that Francisco de Toledo was viceroy of Peru. One of his descendants, Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui, known as Tupac Amaru the Second, in after-times fearfully revenged the injuries of his family and countrymen. The insurrection which he headed broke out in 1781. The lapse of two centuries of oppression had thinned the teeming population of Peru in a ratio scarcely precedented, but, on the other hand, European weapons, and military skill, both of which they had, to a certain extent, adopted, rendered them dangerous enemies, and enough of the old patriotic spirit and tradition of former glory remained to afford material for a fearful outbreak.

The long depressed and humiliated natives rallied around the descendant of their ancient line of Incas with the greatest enthusiasm, and, in their successful attacks upon various provinces where Spanish authority had been established, proved as merciless as their former oppressors. Great numbers of Spaniards perished during this rebellion, but it was finally crushed; and the Inca, with a number of his family, falling into the hands of the Spanish authorities, was barbarously put to death. "They were all quartered," says Bonnycastle, "in the city of Cuzco, excepting Diego, (a brother of Tupac,) who had escaped. So great was the veneration of the Peruvians for Tupac Amaru, that when he was led to execution, they prostrated themselves in the streets, though surrounded by soldiers, and uttered piercing cries and exclamations as they beheld the last of the Children of the Sun torn to pieces."

Diego also perished by the hands of the executioner, twenty years afterwards, upon the accusation of having instigated a revolt which occurred in Quito. It is said that the insurrection of the Indians under Tupac Amaru—

the last important effort made by them to rëestablish their ancient independence—cost more than one hundred thousand lives.

Since the great revolutions in South America, and the establishment of the independence of the Republics, the Indian population of Peru have made no trifling advance. According to the account of Dr. Tschudi, a late traveller in the country, they "have made immense progress. During the civil war, which was kept up uninterruptedly for the space of twenty years, they were taught military manœuvres and the use of fire-arms. After every lost battle, the retreating Indians carried with them, in their flight, their muskets, which they still keep carefully concealed. They are also acquainted with the manufacture of gunpowder, of which, in all their festivals, they use great quantities for squibs and rockets."

The same writer describes the present character of the race as gloomy and distrustful. The Christian religion has been, at least in name, almost universally diffused, but the observance of its rites is mingled with many relics of the ancient superstitions of the country, while the bigotry, errors, and evil example of too many of those who have acted as its ministers could hardly result in the inculcation of the true spirit of their faith. During the whole period of Spanish authority, from the time of the first landing, the Catholic ecclesiastics were unwearied in endeavors to promulgate their religion. Their success in effecting at least an outward acceptation of its doctrines, has been no where more signal than in South America.

THE ARAUCANIAN RACE.

CHAPTER I.

THEIR LOCATION, APPEARANCE, ETC.—PURCHAS' DESCRIPTION OF CHILI—DIVISION OF THE TRIBES—PERUVIAN CONQUESTS—AGRICULTURE, ARTS, ETC., AMONG THE NATIVES—ALMAGRO'S INVASION—EXPEDITION OF PEDRO DE VALDIVIA—FOUNDING OF ST. JAGO—BATTLES WITH THE MAPOCHINIANS—DESTRUCTION OF SPANISH MINERS—PEACE WITH THE PROMAUCIANS.

THE different tribes belonging to this bold and warlike race inhabit Chili and western Patagonia, commencing about latitude thirty degrees, and extending to Terra del Fuego. The Pecherais of that island have also been classed in the same family, and their general conformation of figure and features, except so far as the withering influence of cold and squalid destitution have deteriorated the race, would seem to warrant the conclusion that the two nations were of identical origin.

The mountaineers of Chili are of a much lighter complexion than the aboriginal nations either north or south of them; the tribe of Boroanos in particular have been described as being little, if any, darker than Europeans. The men are tall, hardy, and vigorous, with exceedingly muscular limbs: their faces are broad, and their features rather heavy and coarse, but without the appearance of stupidity or dullness: they have the bright eye and coarse black hair of the Indian. Some of them are noticed with heavy beards, but generally this appendage is thin and

scanty, and the common barbarous custom of eradicating it with some substitute for tweezer is resorted to.

Although a considerable difference is observable between the inhabitants of the mountains and the plains, in size, complexion, &c., yet the similarity in language and general appearance is considered sufficient to warrant the conclusion that all originally sprung from the same stock.

In "Purchas his Pilgrimage," we find the following quaint description of the physical aspect of the country:

"It is called Chili of the chilling cold, for so the word is sayd to signifie. The Hills with their high lookes, cold blasts, and couetous encrochings, driue it almost into the Sea: only a narrow Valley vpon lowly submission to her swelling adversaries, obtayneth roome for fiue and twentie leagues of breadth, where it is most, to extend her spacious length of two hundred leagues on that shore: and to withstand the ocean's furie, shee paies a large tribute of many streames, which yet in the night time shee can hardly performe; the miserable Hills, in their *Frozen* charitie, not imparting that naturall bountie and dutie, till that great Arbiter the Sunne ariseth, and sendeth Day with his light-horse troupe of Sunne-beames to breake vp those Icie Dungeons and Snowie Turrets, wherein Night, the Mountaines Gaoler, had locked the innocent Waters. Once, the poore Valley is so hampered betwixt the Tyrannicall Meteors and Elements, as that shee often quaketh with feare, and in these chill Feuers shaketh of and looseth her best ornaments.

* * "And sometimes the neighbour hils are infected with this pestilent Feuer, and tumble downe as dead in the plaine, thereby so amazing the fearefull Riuers, that they runne quite out of their Channells' to seeke new, or else stand still with wonder; and the motiue heat failing, fall into an vncouth tympanie, their bellies swelling into spacious and standing Lakes."

When the western coast of South America was first visited by Europeans, a portion of Chili was, as beforementioned, subject to the Peruvian monarchy. The Chilian tribes, according to Molina, were fifteen in number, each independent, and governed by its Ulmen, or cacique. "these tribes, beginning at the north and proceeding to the south, were called Copiapins, Coquimbanes, Quillotanes, Mapochinians, Promaucians, Cures, Cauques, Pencones, Araucanians, Cunches, Chilotes, Chinquilanians, Pehuenches, Puelches, and Huilliches." The first four of these, about the middle of the fifteenth century, were reduced by the Inca Yupanqui, without much opposition, but the Promaucians opposed so vigorous a resistance that the progress of the Peruvian arms was effectually stayed. The conquered provinces were allowed to retain their national government and customs, upon payment of tribute to the Inca.

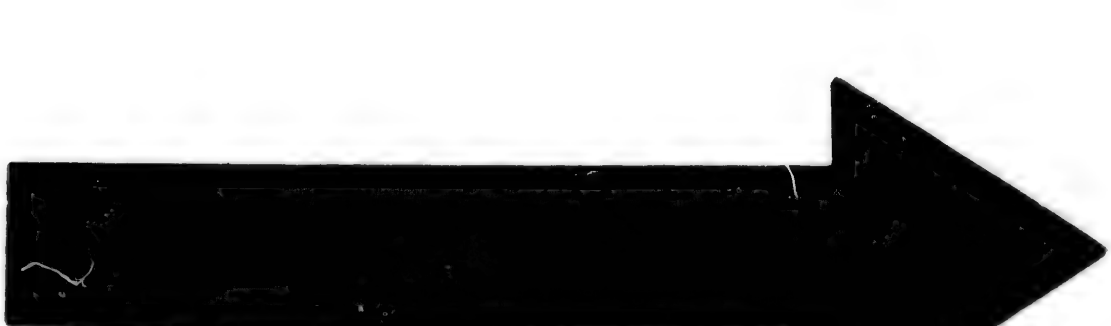
The Chilians were, at this early period, not only bold and skillful in war, but had made much greater advances in the arts of civilization than any other South American race except the Peruvians. The country was too populous to be sustained by the precarious pursuits of hunting, fishing, &c., and a rude but systematic cultivation of the soil had become universal. The vegetable productions brought under cultivation were mostly the same with those used in Peru, and the native sheep or "camel," was domesticated, as in that country. This animal furnished the wool for the garments of those who inhabited the western vallies—the wilder races of the east and south were clothed in skins, principally of the guanaco, a species of wild goat.

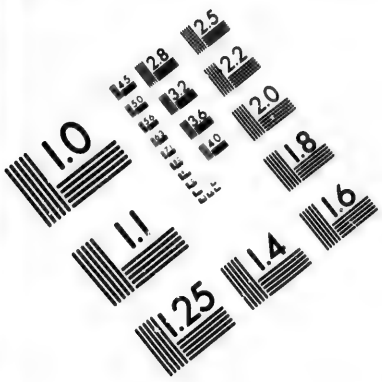
Their houses were generally square, built of brick, or of wood plastered with clay, and thatched with rushes. Culinary utensils were formed of stone, wood, or earthenware. They wrought, with some skill, in the usual metallic productions of the country, using, like the Peruvians, a



THE PASSAGE OF THE CORDILLERAS.

"ALMAGRO, instead of advancing along the level country on the coast, chose to march across the mountains by a route that was shorter, indeed, but almost impracticable. In the attempt, his troops were exposed to every calamity which men can suffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigors of the climate in those elevated regions.' —ROBERTSON.





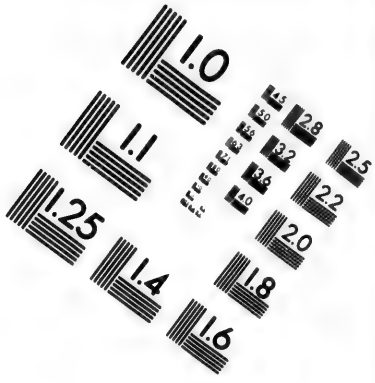
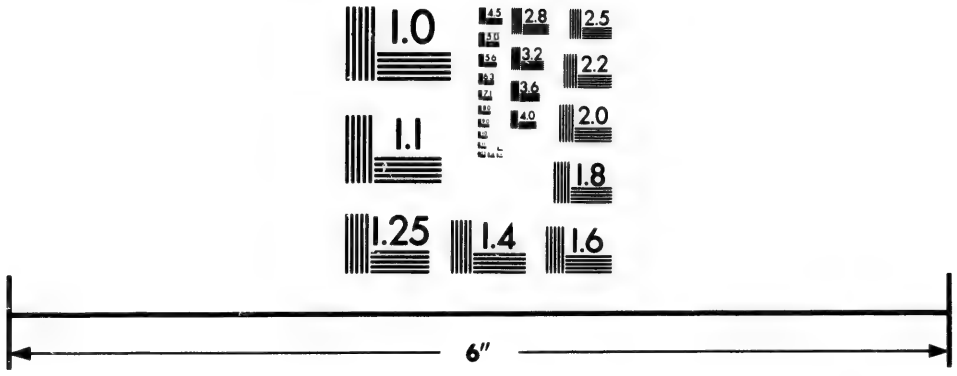
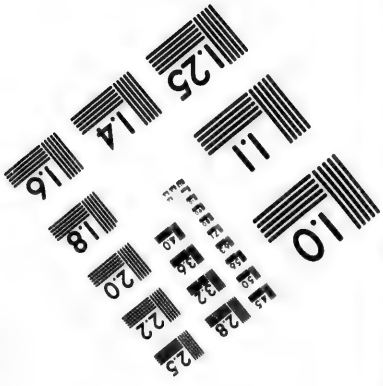


IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic
Sciences
Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

hardened alloy of copper, with other metals, as a substitute for iron. In common with the latter nation, a system of recording events or statistics by the "quipu," was all that was observable as analogous to the art of writing.

The Promaucians, whose courage and patriotism had a century before checked the advance of the royal forces of the Inca, were found no less formidable by the first Spanish invaders. Almagro, after his frightful passage of the Cordilleras, in which, as is said, he lost one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and some ten thousand Indian allies, was well received by the tributary provinces of Chili. He collected no small booty in gold, which he distributed among his followers, and continued his march to Coquimbo. Here he was guilty of an act of barbarity too common wherever the Spaniards of that time were successful in their Indian campaigns. Two of his soldiers had been put to death at Guasco, in consequence of some acts of rapacity or violence, and in revenge, Almagro seized and burned alive the chief of the district, with his brother and twenty other of the native inhabitants.

Marching into the province of the Promaucians, the Spaniards found an enemy superior to any before encountered. Not even the terrors of the cavalry and weapons of the Europeans could daunt the brave mountaineers, who rallied under the banners of their chiefs for the protection of home and country. A single battle was sufficient to satisfy the invaders that little was to be gained by any further advance, and Almagro, with his troops, returned to Peru, as heretofore related, to seize upon Cuzco as being contained within the grant made to him by the crown.

In 1540, Pedro de Valdivia, a bold and active Spanish soldier, and high in the confidence of Pizarro, was commissioned to lead the second expedition against the provinces of Chili. He took with him two hundred Spaniards

and a large body of Peruvians, with the intent of forming a colony and commencing a permanent settlement. Some of the domestic animals of Europe were taken for use of the new colony, and a number of women and ecclesiastics were added to the company.

Crossing the mountains during the favorable season of summer, Valdivia entered Chili, but found on his arrival that the northern tribes, freed from the yoke of the Incas, were disposed to reassert their former independence. The want of union, however, prevented them from being able to stem the progress of the Spaniards. The invader pressed on, crushing all opposition, to Mapocho, the province where he founded the city of St. Jago.

While the new capital was in progress of construction, the natives of the district fell boldly upon the intruders, burned their buildings, and drove them into a fort which they had constructed in the centre of the town. The Spaniards were eventually victorious; but the spirit of the Mapochonians was not broken, and for years afterwards they continued to harass the settlers in every possible manner. The opening of the rich mines of the valley of Quillota reconciled the colonists to every danger and privation; and, for convenient communication with Peru, a vessel was built in the river Chile, which flows through that district.

Valdivia now sent emissaries to Peru, under convoy of thirty mounted men, to beat up for recruits. These messengers were eight in number, and, as a bait to new adventurers, their "spurs, bits, and stirrups he directed to be made of gold." A body of Copiapans attacked this party on their route, and slew all except two, named Alonzo Monroy and Pedro Miranda, whom they carried to their ulmen or cacique. By the intervention of the chief's wife their lives were spared, and they were engaged to teach the young prince, her son, the art of riding. The

ungrateful Spaniards took advantage of the confidence placed in them, to murder their charge and escape on the horses. They succeeded in reaching Peru, and procured a considerable number of adventurers to try their fortunes in the new and promising regions of the south.

The Chilians did not quietly submit to Spanish encroachments. The inhabitants of Quillota, by an artful stratagem, drew the Spaniards connected with the mines into an ambuscade, and murdered nearly the whole number; they followed up their advantage by burning the military stores and the vessel which had been built at the river Chile. Valdivia had the good fortune or skill to overawe or conciliate the Promaucians, and an alliance was formed between the Spaniards and that tribe.

CHAPTER II.

THE ARAUCANIANS PROPER—CHARACTER AND HABITS OF THE TRIBE—HOUSES AND DRESS—SECTIONAL DIVISIONS AND GOVERNMENT—SYSTEM OF WARFARE—COURAGE AND MILITARY SKILL—RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND SUPERSTITIONS—PATRIOTISM AND PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE NATIVES—MOLINA'S EULOGIUM.

PUSHING his conquests and acquisitions further to the southward, the Spanish commander, in 1550, founded the city of Conception, but as the occupation of this spot led to the important events connected with the Araucanian war, we will follow the order of Molina, and give a brief account of the warlike people with whom the Spaniards were now to contend.

This author speaks enthusiastically of the noble character of the Araucanians, their physical perfection, and

their powers of endurance. He says "they are intrepid, animated, ardent, patient in enduring fatigue, ever ready to sacrifice their lives in the service of their country, enthusiastic lovers of liberty, which they consider as an essential constituent of their existence, jealous of their honour, courteous, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, grateful for services rendered them, and generous and humane towards the vanquished." Their failings, on the other hand, are "drunkenness, debauchery, presumption, and a haughty contempt for all other nations."

The district of Arauco, from which the nation takes its name, is but a small province of the country inhabited by the race. This lies in the beautiful region between Conception and Valdivia, extending back among the mountains. The inhabitants dwelt, in primitive simplicity, congregated in no large towns, but thickly scattered over the country in small rural villages. Their domestic and household arrangements were little more refined than we have described as common in Chili. Polygamy was generally practised, and "the size of their houses proportioned to the number of women they could maintain."

They wore woolen clothing, woven from the fleece of the native sheep, and consisting of close fitting under garments, and over all the national Poncho, a most convenient and easily-constructed cloak, especially adapted to the use of horsemen. The women wore long dresses, with a short cloak, both fastened with ornamental brooches of silver.

The Araucanian system of government is described by Molina as being an hereditary aristocracy. The country was divided from north to south into four sections, the mountainous region at the east, the high land at the base of the Andes, the adjoining plain, and the sea coast. Each division was under the nominal sway of a Toqui, or supreme cacique, but the real power was in the body of the

nobility or Ulmenes, who presided over the various subdivisions of the state, and who decided in grand council upon public matters. Our author does not speak very highly of the judicial institutions of the country. Much trouble ensued from a system of retaliation by which minor offences were allowed to be punished. The capital crimes were "treachery, intentional homicide, adultery, the robbery of any valuable article, and witchcraft. Nevertheless, those found guilty of homicide can screen themselves from punishment by a composition with the relations of the murdered." Each father of a family assumed and exercised absolute power over his wives and children, and, by the custom of the country, he was not responsible even for taking their lives.

In war, as among the ruder North American tribes, the direction and command of the armies was not conferred upon the supreme civil potentate, unless from his known skill and bravery he was deemed fully competent. A war-chief was not unusually appointed from among the inferior officers, and, when this was done, an absolute dictatorship was vested in the chosen leader.

Soon after the arrival of the Spaniards in Chili, the Araucanians began to supply themselves with horses. Those which they obtained in battle multiplied to an immense extent, and the native inhabitants speedily acquired a remarkable degree of skill in their training and management. Swords, lances, slings, bows, pikes, and clubs were the national weapons.

Such skill in the arts of war, in fortifications, in military regularity and discipline, and such bravery and efficiency in the open field, as was evinced by the Araucanians in their long contests with the Spaniards, entirely exceed any thing recorded of the other American races.

The terrific destruction caused by artillery failed to confuse or appal them. In the words of Molina: "As soon

as the first line is cut down, the second occupies its place, and then the third, until they finally succeed in breaking the front ranks of the enemy. In the midst of their fury, they nevertheless preserve the strictest order, and perform all the evolutions directed by their officers. The most terrible of them are the club-bearers, who, like so many Herculeses, destroy with their iron-pointed maces all they meet in their way."

After a battle, the prisoners taken were held as slaves until ransomed or exchanged: in some rare instances a single captive would be sacrificed. This was done, (without torture,) after the performance of a singular preliminary ceremonial. The victim was brought forward "upon a horse deprived of his ears and tail—as a mark of ignominy." The proper officers then handed him a pointed stake, and a number of small sticks. He was compelled to dig a hole in the earth with the stake; and to throw the sticks severally into it; naming at each cast, one of the most renowned chiefs of his own country, "while, at the same time, the surrounding soldiers loaded these abhorred names with the bitterest execrations." After he had been forced to cover the hole "as if to bury therein the reputation and valor of their enemies," some one of the principal chiefs destroyed the captive by the blow of a war-club. His heart, it is said, was then taken out, and a little blood sucked from it by the officers standing around; after which, the body was dismembered, the bones were used for flutes, and the skull, (if not cracked,) served for a drinking vessel.

All this sounds excessively barbarous, but Molina tells us that only one or two instances of the kind occurred during a period of nearly two hundred years.

The religious belief of the Araucanians appears to have borne a strong resemblance to that of many North American tribes. The idea of a supreme being; of good and

evil spirits, especially one great demon named Guecubu; of a future state of rewards and punishments, and the immortality of the soul, were universal. A vast number of superstitious signs and omens, some of them singularly analogous to those of ancient European nations, were drawn from earthquakes, storms, the flight of birds, and other natural phenomena.

Each person believed himself under the special care of a guardian angel, or familiar spirit, to whose aid and influence success in any pursuit was generally referred. The Catholic missionaries were received with respect and kindness, but owing to a natural phlegm or indifference to such abstractions, they met with but little success in their efforts at promulgating their doctrines.

The tradition of a deluge, so universally spread throughout the world, was current among these Indians, and in many other respects analogies, whether casual or not, could be traced between their belief and observances and those of the old world. The ceremonies and fanciful conceptions connected with the sepulture of the dead, if correctly reported, are not unlike many of those recorded of the ancients.

Besides the compound of sorcerer and physician, whose services were required by the sick, as in every other part of America when the country was first discovered, the Araucanians had medical professors who made no pretensions to supernatural powers. These are said to have possessed considerable skill in the diagnosis of diseases, and in the administration of simple remedies. Others devoted their attention to the treatment of broken limbs and ulcers, which they accomplished with no small success.

Among the peculiarities of national character observable in the race the most prominent has ever been an indomitable spirit of patriotism, and a pride in their own country and usages, leading to a supreme contempt for all other

nations. They regard their own race as one vast brotherhood, every member of which is bound to assist and befriend his neighbor. Molina says: "The benevolence and kindness with which these people treat each other is really surprising. * * From the mutual affection which subsists between them, proceeds their solicitude reciprocally to assist each other in their necessities. Not a beggar or an indigent person is to be found throughout the whole Araucanian territory; even the most infirm and incapable of subsisting themselves are decently clothed.

"This benevolence is not, however, confined wholly to their own countrymen; they conduct with the greatest hospitality towards all strangers, of whatever nation, and a traveller may live in any part of their country without the least expense."

The above account is probably rather highly colored; indeed, this author has been accused of no little exaggeration in his comments upon Araucanian civilization. Nothing is more common than for a writer to be carried away by his subject; the biographer almost universally deifies his hero, and the historian of a particular nation is but too apt to fall into a similar error.

In their houses and persons, the Araucanians have been described as standing in agreeable contrast with most of the aboriginal Americans, by a most remarkable cleanliness. In this respect they might well rival, if not surpass, the most polished society of Europe.

CHAPTER III.

ARMY SENT TO OPPOSE THE PROGRESS OF THE SPANIARDS—BATTLE ON THE ANDALIEN—LINCOYAN'S CAMPAIGN—VALDIVIA'S MARCH SOUTHWARD—FOUNDATION OF VALDIVIA, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF FORTS IN THE ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY—THE NATIVES ROUSED BY COLOCOLO—CAUPOLICAN MADE TOQUI—HIS SUCCESSES—GREAT VICTORY OVER THE SPANIARDS—DEATH OF VALDIVIA—INVASION OF ARAUCO BY VILLAGRAN—HIS DEFEAT—DESTRUCTION OF CONCEPTION—LAUTARO'S FATAL EXPEDITION AGAINST SANTIAGO.

In order to check the advance of the Spaniards, the Araucanians determined not to await an actual invasion of their own territory, but to cross the river Bio-bio, which formed the boundary of their country, and attack them in force at their quarters in the adjoining province of Penco. The great cacique or Toqui, Aillavilu, with several thousand warriors, was commissioned for this service. The Spanish army was encountered on the banks of the Andalien, and, for the first time in the history of American conquest, experienced the power of an enemy little inferior in skill, and fully equal in courage and determination to the trained soldiery of Europe.

The Indians fought with desperate valor, regardless of the murderous effect of the Spanish fire-arms; but their leader Aillavilu, rashly exposing himself in the hottest of the engagement, was slain, and his followers made an orderly retreat, unpursued by the Spaniards. To secure himself against future danger, Valdivia at once erected a strong fort near his newly-founded city of Conception. This was in 1551, and in the following year the bold mountaineers of the south determined upon another great effort to dislodge the dangerous colony.

One Lincoyan, an Ulmen of huge stature and imposing appearance, was created commander of the armies. In three bodies the Araucanians fell upon the Spaniards, and drove them within the fort. Hopeless of effecting any thing against this stronghold, Lincoyan drew off his forces: he is, indeed, accused by historians of a degree of irresolution and timidity unworthy of his race.

Valdivia, left in undisturbed possession of his new territories, went on with the work of building his city, and strengthening his position. In 1552 he felt sufficient confidence in the number of his followers, augmented by fresh arrivals from Peru, to undertake active operations against the Araucanians. Lincoyan was still in command, and his efforts failed to arrest the progress of the invaders, who pressed on to the river Cauten, in the heart of the hostile territory. Here Valdivia laid the first foundations of the future city Imperial, and sent Alderete, one of his officers, to commence the formation of a settlement by the lake of Lauquen.

From this point the Spanish commander made his way to the southern border of the Araucanian territory, where the river Caliacalla divided it from that of the Cunches, experiencing little opposition from the vacillating and cautious Lincoyan. The Cunches, in great force, were prepared to oppose his entry into their domains; but, according to the accounts handed down to us, they were persuaded to lay aside their purpose, by a native woman, named Recloma. Valdivia was therefore enabled to cross the river in safety, and to found a city upon its southern bank, upon which he bestowed his own family name.

On his return, in 1553, he erected forts in the provinces of Puren, Tucapel and Arauco. These operations were not carried on without hostilities with the natives; but, in consequence, as is said, of the inefficiency of the military chief at their head, all their efforts were unsuccessful, and

the Spaniards were beginning to despise the power of an enemy who was in after-times to prove invincible.

Valdivia retired to Conception, from which town he sent forth expeditions in various directions, forming magnificent plans for the entire occupation of the surrounding country. He anticipated little further resistance on the part of the inhabitants, but while he was indulging these hopes, and pondering new schemes of conquest, an influence was at work to counteract his efforts and restore the native independence. Colocolo, an old cacique of Arauco, set himself in earnest to rouse up the whole nation to resistance. He visited province after province, pointing out the dangers of the supine course of Lincoyan, and urging the appointment of some more capable and energetic leader.

A meeting of the Ulmenes was called, after the usual manner, in an open plain, and the merits of various rival candidates for the office of Toqui were stormily discussed. It was at last concluded to leave the decision with Colocolo, who fixed upon a chief not before brought forward; Caupolican, Ulmen of Pilmayquen.

The new general commenced operations against the Spanish fort in Arauco. Having taken prisoners a body of eighty Indians, who had been sent out by the garrison to gather forage, he put an equal number of his own warriors in charge of the supplies, with their arms concealed among the bundles of grass or hay. These were admitted without suspicion into the fort, when, grasping their weapons, they attacked the Spaniards with inconceivable fury. Caupolican did not arrive quite soon enough, with his army, to take advantage of the confusion which ensued. As he came up, his brave company was driven out, the draw-bridge was raised, and the garrison stationed to defend the walls. He therefore invested the place, and, cutting off all supplies, compelled the Spaniards to evacuate

it. This was accomplished without loss, by taking their departure under cover of night: "at midnight they mounted their horses, and, suddenly opening the gate, rushed out at full speed, and escaped through the midst of their enemies; the Araucanians, who supposed it to be one of their customary sallies, taking no measures to obstruct their flight."

Following up his advantage Caupolican reduced the fort at Tucapel, and encamped at that place to await the approach of the Spanish army. Valdivia, according to the expectation of the Toqui, promptly collected his forces for a grand struggle with the natives. The numbers of the respective armies are not certainly known; but it appears probable that there were several hundred Spaniards, accompanied by ten times their number of Indian auxiliaries, while the Araucanian forces are set down at nine or ten thousand. As he neared the enemies' camp, the Spanish general sent forward ten mounted men under Diego del Oro, on a scout. These were surrounded and cut off by the Indians, and their heads were hung upon trees in sight of the advancing troops.

It was upon the 3d of December, 1553, that the grand engagement took place. It was no ordinary Indian skirmish, in which, if the natives could be dislodged from covert, their discomfiture was certain, but a pitched battle, depending no less upon military skill in the manœuvres of the different battalions than upon individual courage and determination. The Spaniards were, it is true, greatly outnumbered, but they had, on the other hand, the immense advantage of fire-arms and other European weapons, with which they had so long been accustomed to scatter the hordes of rudely-equipped savages who opposed them.

The Araucanians appeared utterly reckless of life: line after line would be swept away by cannon and musketry,

but fresh bodies were ready, at the word of command, to rush into the dangerous breach. Molina describes the result as follows: "Three times they retired in good order beyond the reach of the musketry, and as often, resuming new vigour, returned to the attack. At length, after the loss of a great number of their men, they were thrown into disorder, and began to give way. Caupolican, Tucapel (one of the most distinguished of their generals), and the old intrepid Colocolo, who was present in the action, in vain attempted to prevent their flight and reanimate their courage. The Spaniards shouted victory, and furiously pressed upon the fugitives.

"At this momentous crisis, a young Araucanian, of but sixteen years of age, called Lautaro, whom Valdivia, in one of his incursions, had taken prisoner, baptized and made his page, quitted the victorious party, began loudly to reproach his countrymen with their cowardice, and exhorted them to continue the contest, as the Spaniards, wounded and spent with fatigue, were no longer able to resist them. At the same time, grasping a lance, he turned against his late master, crying out, 'Follow me, my countrymen! victory courts us with open arms.'"

Such resolution and courage on the part of a boy roused the fugitives to new exertions, and turned the scale of battle. The Spanish force was entirely destroyed—of the whole army, it is said that only two Indians escaped. Valdivia was taken alive, and brought into the presence of the Toqui. Caupolican seemed disposed to favor the captive general, but an old officer, standing by, "enraged to hear them talk of sparing his life, dispatched the unfortunate prisoner with a blow of his club."

A more fanciful tale of the manner of Valdivia's death obtained some credence: Purchas makes mention of it as follows in his synopsis of Chilian conquests and colonization:

"In six and thirtie degrees is that famous Valley of

Arauco, which defend their persons and freedome, maugre all the force and furie of the Spaniards. * * They haue destroyed many of the Spaniards: they tooke the Citie Baldiuia in the yeare 1599, and slew the Spaniards. Twice before, if not oftner, they had burnt and spoiled it, Yea *Baldiuia* himselfe, the first conqueror of *Chili*, (for *Almagro* stayed not) and of whom that Citie receiued name, was taken by these Indians, his horse being slaine vnder him. They bid him feare nothing, hee should haue gold enough: and making a great banquet for him, brought in the last seruice, which was a cup full of molten gold which they forced him to drinke, saying; *Now glut thy selfe with gold.* This *Baldiuia* had entred Chili with foure hundred horse, and easily conquered that part which had beene subject to the Kings of Peru, but the other, which was the richer part, held out."

To proceed with the more authentic narrative, Lautaro was immediately raised to the highest subordinate rank in the army, being made "lieutenant-general extraordinary," and the whole country resounded with his praise.

When news of the fatal overthrow of Valdivia reached the Spanish settlements, the inhabitants abandoned Villarica, Puren, and other minor establishments, retreating for safety within the walls of Valdivia and Imperial. These two places were invested by Caupolican in force, while the gallant young Lautaro was entrusted with the defence of the mountain pass by which succours from the North would probably arrive.

In accordance with directions left by Valdivia for the conduct of the government in the event of his death, the office of governor devolved upon Francis Villagran. Immediately upon assuming command, this officer made arrangements for another invasion of Arauco.

He found Lautaro with his division prepared to oppose his entrance into the province. An advanced body of

natives was driven in by the Spaniards, after some hours of hard fighting, and the invaders pressed up the mountain path to the spot where the young commander was posted. "This mountain," says Molina, "which on several occasions has proved fatal to the Spaniards, has on its summit a large plain, interspersed with shady trees. Its sides are full of clefts and precipices, on the part towards the west the sea beats, with great violence, and the east is secured by impenetrable thickets. A winding bye-path on the north was the only road that led to the summit of the mountain."

Villagran had six pieces of artillery, which he succeeded in bringing to bear, with effect, upon the Indians, while his musketeers poured continual volleys among their crowded ranks. By the orders of Lautaro, a select body of warriors charged the battery, and took possession of every cannon. This decided the fortune of the day; the Spaniards and their allies were driven down the mountain in hopeless confusion, pursued by the victorious natives. To add to their difficulties, they found their retreat cut off by a barricade of logs. But a handful of the number survived to carry the heavy news to Conception.

The city was immediately deserted, as incapable of defence; the women, children, and old men, were shipped on board the vessels in the harbor, to be carried to Valparaiso and Imperial, while Villagran, with the able-bodied men, took up his march for Santiago.

The Araucanians plundered and destroyed the abandoned city without opposition. The hurried departure of the Spaniards, and their insufficient means of conveyance, prevented the removal of much accumulated treasure, which consequently fell into the hands of the Indians.

Villagran, as soon as practicable, sent reinforcements to the besieged cities of Valdivia and Imperial, upon which Caupolican drew off his forces, leaving the Spaniards to

lay waste the surrounding country. A worse enemy than the European invaders, at this time, desolated the Indian territories: that terrible disease the small-pox was communicated to the natives by some infected Spanish soldiers, and, as usual among a people unacquainted with its peculiarities, spread far and wide, producing a fearful mortality.

In the year 1555, the Court of the Royal Audience, at Lima, in settling various disputed questions connected with Spanish government in Chili, directed Villagran to rebuild the city of Conception. A colony was accordingly transported thither, and a strong fort was erected. This spot, it will be remembered, was to be northward of the Bio-bio, and without the Araucanian territory; but, at the request of the native inhabitants, an army of about two thousand men, under Lautaro, was sent to annihilate the growing settlement.

The young chieftain was a second time completely successful. The Spaniards were slain, or driven to seek safety in their vessels, or by flight through the wilderness, and the buildings were again plundered and razed.

Flushed with success, Lautaro now determined, with only six hundred warriors, to march a distance of some three hundred miles, and attack the town of Santiago. At the same time, Caupolican again laid siege to Valdivia and Imperial. Lautaro pursued his march peaceably until he reached Promaucia, where he revenged his country upon the treacherous allies of the Spaniards by ravaging and laying waste the district. This course of proceeding has been pronounced grossly impolitic, as by conciliation and kindness he might have secured friends where he now left behind him implacable enemies.

Instead of making an instantaneous attack upon the city, Lautaro deemed it more prudent to erect a fort to which he might retreat, and where he might, at his leisure, reconnoitre the enemy's strongholds, and choose his own

time for assault or surprise. He therefore posted himself on the banks of the Claro. Repeated attempts were made by the Spaniards to dislodge him, but again and again they were repulsed with heavy loss. The conduct of these sorties were intrusted to Pedro Villagran, son of the governor, the old chief himself being at the time disabled by sickness.

Upon his recovery, the veteran took with him an army of about two hundred Spaniards, with a thousand Indians, and marched, with great secresy and caution for Lautaro's camp. He succeeded in surprising the enemy, and gained a complete victory. The attack was made just at the dawn of day, when the Indians were totally unprepared: they fought with their usual desperation, and, after all hope of resistance was at an end, sternly refused to surrender. "In vain," says Molina, "the Spanish commander repeatedly offered them quarter. * * The Araucanians perished to the last man, and fought with such obstinacy that they sought for death by throwing themselves on the lances of their enemies."

Lautaro was slain by a dart in the very first of the melée. This was in 1556, and the brave and celebrated chief was consequently but nineteen years of age. His death was universally lamented; even the Spaniards, while exulting in the prospect of future safety, opened to them by his death, both felt and expressed the most enthusiastic admiration for his noble character and distinguished talents. Caupolican, hearing of the melancholy issue of Lautaro's expedition, raised the siege of Imperial, and repaired to the northern frontiers.

CHAPTER IV.

DON GARCIA DE MENDOZA; HIS ESTABLISHMENT AT QUIRIQUINA—FORT ON MOUNT PINTO ATTACKED BY CAUPOLICAN—DON GARCIA'S INVASION OF ARAUCO; HIS CRUELTIES—EXPEDITION TO CHILOE—ARTFUL MANAGEMENT OF THE CUNCHES—SEIZURE AND CRUEL DEATH OF CAUPOLICAN—SUBSEQUENT SUCCESSES OF THE SPANIARDS—RETREAT OF THE NATIVES TO THE MARSHES OF LUMACO—INDIAN VICTORY AT MOUNT MARIGUENU—GENERAL SUMMARY OF SUCCEEDING HOSTILITIES.

In the month of April, 1557, Don Garcia de Mendoza, upon whom had been conferred the office of Spanish viceroy at Chili, arrived at the harbor of Conception, with a large force of infantry and abundant muniments of war. He first established himself upon the island of Quiriquina, and sent messages to the Araucanian authorities expressing a desire for the establishment of a permanent peace. Caupolican, with the concurrence of his council, sent one Millalauco to confer with the Spanish commandant, especially charging him to note with great accuracy the numbers and resources of the troops. Nothing but general expressions of amity and desire for tranquillity resulted from the conference, and Millalauco returned with full reports to Caupolican. The Toqui was immediately upon the alert, and made every preparation for obtaining instant information of the enemy's movements, and for opposing any establishment upon the main land.

In the month of August, Don Garcia landed a detachment in the night, and secured the position of Mount Pinto, overlooking the plain and harbor. Here a fort was constructed, surrounded by a ditch, and defended by artillery. Only four days from the time of landing, the Araucanian chief, with a large army, attacked the fort.

Filling the ditch with logs and fascines, the assailants, in the face of a murderous fire, made desperate efforts to scale the walls. Many succeeded, and threw themselves into the inclosure, willing to meet certain destruction that they might have a brief opportunity for wreaking their long-cherished vengeance upon the Spaniards. Prodigies are related of the personal exploits of Tucapel, who encouraged this audacity by his own example, but who, unlike his companions, succeeded in forcing his way back. After killing, as is said, "four of his enemies with his formidable mace, he escaped by leaping over a precipice, amidst a shower of balls."

Reinforcements were sent over from the island, and Caupolican was obliged to draw off his forces, leaving his purpose unaccomplished. The arrival, shortly after, of a great force of Spanish cavalry and Indian auxiliaries, by sea, rendered a repetition of the attempt hopeless.

Thus strengthened, Don Garcia soon commenced offensive operations. He crossed the Bio-bio unopposed, and engaged the Araucanian army, a short distance beyond. The natives, notwithstanding every exertion, and the display of a rash valor never surpassed, were driven off with terrible loss.

Cruelty and barbarity unlike any thing before known in Chili, now marked the success of the conqueror. He cut off the hands of a prisoner named Galverino, who had been a noted warrior, and sent him to his friends as a warning of what was in store for them: other captives he subjected to cruel tortures in order to extort information as to their general's plans and places of retreat, but their fortitude was proof against all the suffering he could inflict.

Caupolican soon rallied his forces for another battle, which was more obstinately contested even than the first; but the result was the same—the superiority in weapons, and the efficiency of the cavalry securing success to the

Spaniards. The mutilated Galverino, again taken prisoner, was hanged, with twelve of the native Ulmenes.

Marching into the district of Tucapel, Don Garcia founded the city of Canete upon the spot of Valdivia's former discomfiture. A strong fort was there built and garrisoned, and the command intrusted to one Alonzo Reynoso, after which the conqueror returned in triumph to Imperial. From this town he sent large numbers of Spaniards to assist in the defence and establishment of the new city. On the route, these settlers were furiously attacked by the natives, but after suffering some loss in men and stores, they effected an entrance into the fortification. Caupolican then set himself systematically to reduce the place. In the attempt to secure an advantage by the introduction of a spy within the walls, he was himself completely overreached by the cunning of one of the Indian allies of the Spaniards. This man, discovering the errand of the spy, secured his confidence by pretending hatred against the invaders, and by promising his aid in admitting the besiegers within the walls. Caupolican was regularly entrapped: a gate was left open to give opportunity for an entrance into the fort, but when such a number had entered as could safely be mastered, the passage was closed, and by a sudden and unexpected attack, those within the walls were cut to pieces, and those without completely routed. Caupolican escaped to the mountains, but three of his officers were taken prisoners, and blown from the muzzles of cannon.

The years 1558 and 1559 were memorable among the Spanish settlers of Chili, for the expedition of Don Garcia to the archipelago of Chiloe. By an artful policy, adopted in accordance with the advice of an Araucanian, the Cunches averted the usual terrors of European invasion. They pretended extreme poverty, sending to the general a present of "roasted lizards and wild fruits," and carefully

concealing every sign of wealth, particularly in the precious metals. A guide furnished by them to the Spaniards was instructed to lead the army southward by the most desolate and dangerous routes, the more effectually to discourage any plans of settlement and colonization.

Arriving, at last, after unheard-of toil and privation, at the beautiful archipelago, the Spaniards were kindly and generously entertained by the natives. On his return, through the level country of the Huilliches, Don Garcia founded the city of Orsino.

It was during this absence of the viceroy that the brave Caupolican fell into the hands of his enemies. Alonzo Reynoso extorted, by torture of a prisoner, the disclosure of his place of retreat, and sent a corps of mounted men to surprise him. By order of the cruel commandant, this brave and venerated ruler was impaled, and in that position dispatched with arrows.

The office of Toqui was conferred upon a son of the old chief, Caupolican the younger, and the redoubted Tucapel was made second in command. An army of Araucanians, led by the new commander, was immediately upon the march for the city of Conception. Alonzo Reynoso followed, with five hundred men, to attack this body in the rear; but was signally defeated in an engagement north of the river Bio-bio, which he hardly succeeded in recrossing with a remnant of his followers. Instead of following out his original design against Conception, young Caupolican transferred his forces to Imperial, where Don Garcia had fortified himself. He was unable to take the city, although he besieged it closely for a long time, making many furious and desperate attacks. The Spaniards were strengthened by constant arrivals of military adventurers from Spain and Peru, and as their defences were good, their loss in these engagements was small, as compared with that of the Indian besiegers. An attempt to

rouse a rebellion among the Indian allies at the Spanish camp, was discovered, and all concerned were put to death. Two of the emissaries of the Toqui were "impaled in the sight of the Araucanian army, to whom they recommended with their last breath to die in defence of the liberties of their country. One hundred and twenty of the auxiliaries were also hung on the ramparts, exhorting the others to favor the enterprise of their countrymen."

Caupolican withdrew from the city, and established himself at a place called Quipeo, between Conception and the fortress of Canete, the nature of which was such that it could easily be defended. Here he stoutly resisted all efforts to dislodge him for a long time; but was finally worsted in an incautious sally. His army was mostly destroyed; Tucapel, Colocolo, Lincoyan, and others of his bravest officers, had fallen; and, seeing escape impossible, the young chief put an end to his own life.

Every thing now seemed to favor the Spaniards: they little thought that after such a reverse, and the experience of the misery and horrors of a long and bloody war, the natives would again make head against them. The interval of peace was occupied in restoring the old fortifications and settlements, and in the establishment of new posts. It was at this time that the city of Mendoza, east of the Andes, was founded.

Nearly all the Araucanian officers, and a large proportion of the young men of the tribe, had perished in the last disastrous campaigns, but the indomitable spirit of the nation survived. A brave chief, named Antiguenu, was chosen Toqui, and the shattered forces of the nation were assembled in the gloomy and almost impenetrable marshes of Lumaco. Here Antiguenu "caused high scaffoldings to be erected to secure his men from the extreme moisture," and devoted himself to training and instructing such new recruits as could be collected.

Don Garcia had, in the mean time, been superseded in his office of Spanish viceroy, by the former incumbent, Francis Villagran; who, hearing of the late defeat of the natives, supposed that he now occupied an easy and secure position. He was undeceived by the intelligence that the new Toqui was beginning to give his army some practical lessons in the art of war by various predatory visits to the Spanish settlements.

The first serious engagement, in this campaign, took place at the summit of Mount Mariguenu, the scene of former disaster to the Spaniards. Antiguenu, familiar with the advantages of the locality, was posted at this spot, and Villagran sent one of his sons, with the most efficient force at his disposal, to attack the enemy in their quarters. The result of the attempt was as fatal as upon former occasions: the leader of the assailants was slain, and nearly the entire Spanish army destroyed. The Toqui followed up his advantage by the seizure and destruction of the fortress at Canete.

About this time Pedro Villagran, by the death of Francis, his father, succeeded to the office of governor. Antiguenu had now at his disposal an army of not far from four thousand men, and felt sufficiently strong to divide his forces, and make a simultaneous attack upon the city of Conception and the fortress at Arauco.

The city resisted all the attempts of the natives, although close siege was laid to it for two months; but the detachment led into Arauco by Antiguenu in person was more successful. The commandant, Lorenzo Bernal, defended his post with great bravery, holding out against all the assaults of the enemy until reduced by famine to evacuate the fort. The Spaniards were not disturbed in their retreat, the business of destroying the buildings and fortifications, so long a harbor for the enemy in the heart of their own country, fully occupying the attention of the Araucanians.

Several interesting incidents are recorded connected with this siege: upon one occasion, Antiguenu challenged the Spanish commandant to a private personal encounter, and the duel was accordingly fought in sight of both armies. "The battle between these two champions," says the historian, "was continued for two hours without either obtaining any advantage, or injuring the other, till they were at length separated by their men." Such trials of strength and skill between renowned warriors of either party were not uncommon during the protracted wars of Chili.

Not long after the reduction of Canete and the fort at Arauco, a general engagement took place between the Indians and Spaniards at the junction of the Vergosa and Bio-bio, in which the former were totally routed. Antiguenu with many of his followers fell, or was forced, from a steep bank into the stream, and there perished. A terrible havoc was commited among the discomfitted army, not, however, without great loss to the victors, and the Araucanian power seemed, a second time, to be effectually crushed. This was in the year 1564.

The sagacious and prudent Paillataru, a relative of the lamented Lautaro, was the next Toqui, and, like his predecessor, he set himself, at first, to recruit his forces and repair the disasters of war. For years he hazarded no open battle with the whites, but inured his warriors to service by flying incursions.

In 1565 a new Spanish viceroy, Rodrigo de Quiroga, restored the posts at Canete and Arauco, and built a new fort at Quipeo. With little opposition, he laid waste those portions of the Araucanian territory that were within his reach, and dispatched a body of troops to the southward, to bring into subjection the islands of the Chiloan archipelago. The mild and gentle inhabitants of that groupe submitted without an effort to the dictation of the Spaniards, offering no resistance to the burdens of personal

service, &c., imposed upon them by their new masters. In after-times they proved equally tractable in adopting the religion of their conquerors.

For thirty years from the installation of Paillataru, bloody and desolating wars were, at intervals, waged between the Spaniards and Araucanians. The former, from the steady increase of their numbers, acquired a stronger foothold in the country, and the result of hostilities was generally in their favor. Occasionally some terrible reverse would serve to remind them that the enemy was not yet conquered, but that the old spirit still burned with undiminished energy. The Araucanians acquired the use of horses, thereby gaining great facilities for flying incursions. To a certain extent they had, moreover, learned to avail themselves of such fire-arms as were secured in battle.

Paillataru defeated the Spaniards yet again upon Mount Marigueuu, and, as well as his successor, the mustee or half-breed Paynenancu, proved a thorn in the sides of the colonists. The Ulman of Marigueuu, Cayancaru, was made Toqui in 1585, after the seizure and execution of Paynenancu. This ruler, disappointed in various bold but unsuccessful campaigns, resigned office in favor of his son Nangoniel, who was soon after slain in battle. A noted warrior, named Cadeguala, succeeded him.

The new Toqui, after various other warlike operations, laid siege to the Spanish fort at Puren. Becoming weary of delay, his chivalrous spirit led him to challenge the commandant, Garcia Ramon, to single combat, thereby to decide the fate of the fortress. The two leaders accordingly fought on horseback, with lances, and Cadeguala fell transfixed by his adversary's weapon at the first tilt.

Guanoalca, the next in authority, continued to wage war with the Spaniards, and gained many advantages. He reduced and took possession of the fortresses at Puren, Trinidad, and Spirito Santo. During this administration,

flourished a celebrated female warrior, named Janequeo, who in 1590, with a horde of the wild and roving Puelches of the eastern districts, harassed the Spanish settlements.

The young chief Quintuguenu, succeeded Guanoalca, upon the death of that Toqui in 1591, and although a brave and noble warrior, was doomed to defeat and death at the spot most famous for his countrymen's victories. He fell on the heights of Mariguenu, where his army was destroyed or dispersed. One Paillaeco was elected in his place, but with reduced forces he could effect little against the Spaniards, encouraged as they were by recent success. The old forts and posts destroyed under the sway of preceding rulers were rebuilt and fortified in the years 1591 and 1592.

CHAPTER V.

VICEROYALTY OF MARTIN LOYOLA—PAILLAMACHU—RENEWAL OF THE WAR—LOYOLA SLAIN—GENERAL INSURRECTION OF THE NATIVES—THE SPANIARDS DRIVEN FROM THE COUNTRY SOUTH OF THE BIO-BIO—BLOODY CAMPAIGNS UNDER SEVERAL SUCCESSIVE TOQUIS—PEACE OF 1640—TEN YEARS' WAR—SUBSEQUENT TREATIES AND HOSTILITIES—PRESENT POSITION OF THE ARAUCANIANS.

In 1593 Don Martin Loyola, nephew of Ignatius, the originator of the order of Jesuits, arrived at Chili, invested with the office of governor under the Spanish monarchy. During the period of his authority arose the renowned Paillamachu, next in regular succession to Paillaeco. He was an old man, but endowed with singular energy and activity. For two years he kept aloof, recruiting and disciplining his forces at the old retreat among the Lumacan

morasses, while the Spaniards had opportunity, unmolested, to restore their ruined cities, to work the rich mines of the mountains, and to strengthen their positions as they would. The Toqui, by an ambassador, gave Loyola distinctly to understand that he and his followers were, as firmly as their forefathers, determined never to be brought into subjection.

Paillamachu's first attempt against his enemies was by sending a detachment (in 1595) to destroy a fortification erected by Loyola at the southward of the Bio-bio. From this time he continued to attack and plunder the Spanish settlements wherever opportunity offered, avoiding general engagements, and retreating with his booty to his inaccessible fastnesses. On the night of November 22d, 1598, he succeeded in surprising and slaying the Spanish governor, at his encampment (with a slender retinue) in the vale of Caralva. "It would seem," (by Molina's account) "that the Araucanian general had formed confident hopes of the success of this bold enterprise, since, in consequence of his previous instructions, in less than forty-eight hours after this event, not only the Araucanian provinces, but those of the Cunches and Huilliches, were in arms, and the whole of the country to the archipelago of Chiloe."

The native armies met with unprecedented success; town after town fell before them, reduced by siege or carried by storm. Conception, Chillan, Canete, the Araucan fort, Valdivia, and other settlements, were destroyed, and the inhabitants slain, driven off, or carried away captives. Villarica, Osorno, and Imperial were conquered, in 1602, after protracted siege, in which the miserable citizens suffered every extremity from famine and terror. "Thus, in a period of little more than three years, were destroyed all the settlements which Valdivia and his successors had established and preserved, at the expense of so much blood, in the extensive country between the Bio-bio and the

archipelago of Chiloe, none of which have been since rebuilt, as what is at present called Valdivia is no more than a fort or garrison."—(*Molina's Civil History of Chili;* written about the close of the eighteenth century.)

Great numbers of Spanish prisoners were carried home by the Indians, and experienced great diversity of treatment. Many intermarried with the natives, giving origin to a race of half-breeds, who proved as inimical towards the Spaniards as their dusky ancestors.

The brave and sagacious Paillamachu died in 1603. Repeated, but futile attempts were made by the Spaniards for several years ensuing, to recover their lost territory south of the Bio-bio. The Indians, fortunate in having brave and sagacious rulers, and with all their ancient pride and patriotic enthusiasm fully aroused, successfully resisted every invasion. About the year 1612, a movement was made by a Jesuit, named Louis Valdivia, to put an end to this hopeless warfare, that an opening might be made for the spread of the Christian religion among the independent tribes. The Spanish monarch, Philip the Third, highly approved of the plan, and proposals were forwarded to the Toqui and his council, by means of certain liberated prisoners.

While the treaty of peace was under negotiation, and flattering prospects of quiet appeared to the settlers, an event occurred which put a speedy end to all peaceful intercourse. Ancanamon, the Toqui, had a Spanish woman as one of his wives, who made her escape from his power, and sought protection from the Spanish viceroy. Two other wives of the Toqui, and two of his daughters, won over by her persuasions to embrace her religion, accompanied her in her flight.

The Spaniards refused to deliver up these refugees, with the exception of one who had not professed Christianity, and Ancanamon, enraged at the supposed injury, slew a

number of missionaries who had been conducted into his dominions, and with renewed energy continued the prosecution of the war.

About the year 1618, a most fierce and dangerous enemy of the Spaniards had the dictatorship of the Araucanian tribes. This was the celebrated Toqui Lientur. A chain of military posts and strong fortifications had been erected by the Spanish authorities upon the Bio-bio, to prevent Indian incursions, but they availed nothing against the rapid and energetic movements of the native commander. Until his resignation, in 1625, he not only preserved his own country from Spanish occupation, but made continual inroads into the enemy's territory, plundering their villages and destroying the forces brought to oppose him. In his very first expedition, he is said to have seized and carried off no less than four hundred horses.

His successor, the young warrior Putapichion, who had been formerly a slave among the whites, proved a no less formidable adversary. He continued in authority until slain in battle about eight years from the time of his accession; a period marked by many extensive and bloody campaigns, in which the Spaniards, although more successful than during former administrations, could obtain no permanent footing upon Araucanian soil. At the last grand engagement, which, in consequence of his death, resulted favorably for the Spaniards, the manner in which this chief marshaled and brought his forces to action excited the admiration of his enemies.

The obstinacy with which these wars were carried on during a period of little less than a century, until the peace concluded in 1640, is almost without parallel. The history of the times does not record a series of petty skirmishes, but a succession of desperate campaigns, in which the known valor and obstinacy of the Spaniard were no less conspicuous than the utter carelessness of life and enthusiastic self-

devotion of the Indian. The success of either party would, from time to time, seem to threaten the utter extermination of their rivals, but defeat only compelled a retreat, on the one hand within the fortified towns, and on the other into the impenetrable wilderness, until new forces could be raised and new plans of assault concocted.

In the year last mentioned the Marquis of Baydes, Francisco Zuniga, came out to Chili as governor, and exerted himself successfully to obtain an interview with the Toqui Lincopichion, and to conclude terms for a lasting peace.

An immense concourse of both races attended at the time and place appointed for the solemn ratification of the treaty, and days were passed in feats and congratulatory ceremonials. Prisoners were exchanged, trade was established, and free scope was given to the exertions of the devout ecclesiastics who assumed the duty of converting the Indians. These missionaries were well and respectfully treated, but met with no marked success in the propagation of their doctrines.

The peace lasted until about 1655, when it was succeeded by a ten years' war, the particulars of which are only recorded in the most general terms. It is certain that during this season of hostility the Spanish colonists met with such terrible losses, and were, upon many occasions, so signally defeated by the Araucanians, that the preservation of a true history of events would be little flattering to their national pride.

A new treaty was brought about in 1665, by the governor, Francisco Meneses, and the country was comparatively at rest for more than half a century. The Spaniards began to settle in the Araucanian territory, and, in consequence of their naturally overbearing disposition, became objects of dislike and suspicion to the native inhabitants. Certain Spanish officials, denominated the "Captains of the Friends," whose nominal duty was the protection of the

missionaries, but who assumed unwarranted powers, were especially odious.

In 1722 the discontent of the Indians led them to a renewal of hostilities. They appointed one Villumilla, a bold and ambitious man, to the office of Toqui. This chief exerted himself to rouse up an insurrection throughout Chili, but, failing in this, with undiminished resolution, he collected what forces could be mustered, and fell upon the Spanish settlements. He met with no little success, gaining possession of the fortresses of Tucapel, Arauco, and Puren. In the words of the historian, "The war afterwards became reduced to skirmishes of but little importance, which were finally terminated by the celebrated peace of Negrete, a place situated at the confluence of the rivers Bio-bio and Lara." The more important grievances complained of by the natives were redressed at the settlement of the terms of treaty.

Further difficulties arose under the administration of Don Antonio Gonzaga, in consequence of an absurd and futile attempt by that officer to induce or compel the Araucanians to build and inhabit cities in certain prescribed localities. A war ensued in which some bloody battles were fought, and in which the roving Pehuenches were involved, first in behalf of the Spaniards, but afterwards as firm allies of their own countrymen. Peace was concluded in 1773; and among the articles of stipulation, it was agreed that a native minister should be stationed at St. Jago to keep watch over his nation's interests.

This pacification produced the happiest results. Relieved from the danger of hostile incursions, the Spanish settlements north of that natural boundary, the Bio-bio, increased and prospered, while the free tribes at the south were left to the exercise of their own system of government and the enjoyment of their well-earned liberty.

The proud distinction of being the only aboriginal

Americans who have maintained their independence when brought directly in contact with Europeans, still belongs to the Araucanians. They occupy much of their old territory within the modern republic of Chili, a district set down as covering an area of twenty-eight thousand square miles.

It may well be doubted whether the world has ever produced a race of men, who, with no greater advantages, from numbers, and advancement in the arts, have accomplished military exploits worthy to be compared with those recorded in Araucanian history. The different aims and purposes of the contending parties throughout the long and terrible contest with the colonists, enlist our warmest sympathies with the natives. On the one hand, the insatiable thirst for gold, the pride of conquest, or the scarcely less detestable spirit of intolerant bigotry, were the ruling motives—and how powerful they have proved, let the history of Spanish America portray—while, on the other, the whole end and aim of the rightful owners of the soil, individually and collectively, seem to have been directed with unflinching self-devotion towards the one object of the preservation of liberty and independence.

The principal benefit derived by the modern Araucanians from intercourse with foreigners is in the introduction of horses and cattle. These, with the vicuna and guanaco, constitute their principal riches: they still live in a state of primeval simplicity, and freedom from most of the artificial wants of civilization.

INDIAN TRIBES OF BRAZIL.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS—PINZON'S DISCOVERIES—LANDING OF PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL UPON THE BRAZILIAN COAST—EXPEDITION UNDER VESPUCIUS—CANNIBALISM—COLONIZATION OF THE COUNTRY, AND WARS WITH THE NATIVES—FATE OF JUAN DE SOLIS, AT THE ESTUARY OF LA PLATA—SETTLEMENT OF BAHIA DE TODOS SANTOS BY DIOGO ALVAREZ—THE JESUITS—PARTICULARS OF THE CANNIBAL PROPENSITIES OF THE NATIVES—THE BOTOCUDOS.

THERE is a certain degree of resemblance in form and feature between the Guarani tribes of Brazil with those of other provinces further south, and the races north of the Amazon, described in a former chapter. The obliquity of the eye, and the yellowish tinge of the complexion, with other peculiarities, give them somewhat the appearance of the Eastern Asiatic races. "The Eastern Guarani," according to Prichard, "are the Tupi, or native inhabitants of the Brazils. 'The general language of Brazil,' says Hervas, 'called Tupi, from the name of the first Indians who were converted to the holy faith, is not more different from the Guarani, viz: of Paraguay, than the Portuguese from the Spanish.' The same writer enumerates, from information derived from ecclesiastics, the following tribes who speak the Tupi, with little variety of dialect, viz: the Cariyi, southward of the Tupi proper, reaching as far towards the south as the Rio Grande del Sud or S. Pietro,

the Tamoyi, Tupinaqui, Timmiminos, Tobayari, Tupinambi, Apanti, Tapigoas, and several other tribes, occupying all the maritime countries as far north as the river Maragnon."

The first information obtained by Europeans concerning Brazil and its inhabitants, was from the report of Vicente Pinzon, the associate of Columbus upon his first voyage to America. On the 26th of January, 1500, Pinzon, who, with several vessels, was bound upon an exploring expedition, made the present Cape St. Augustine, at the eastern extremity of the southern continent. He took formal possession of the country, and coasted thence as far north as the mouth of the Amazon, of which he was the discoverer. The voyage was in some respects disastrous, as three of the vessels were lost, and several men perished in encounters with the ferocious natives. Upon one occasion, a single Spaniard was sent forward to conciliate and parley with a group of Indians who stood upon a hill watching the movements of the strangers. "The Spaniard," says Southey, in his history of Brazil, "made all the friendly signs he could devise, and threw to them a hawks'-bell, for which they threw down something which was supposed to be a piece of gold; he stooped for it, and they sprang forward to seize him." He defended himself with great valor and skill, until his comrades hastened to his assistance. "The savages, with their deadly archery, slew eight, wounded many more, and pursued them to their boats. * * They rushed on like wild beasts, despising wounds and death; followed the boats even when they had put off, dived after them, and fairly won one of them, having slain its captain and driven out the crew."

From this incident it will plainly appear that the Spanish adventurers had an enemy to deal with very different from the gentle and luxurious natives of the islands. That the aborigines of some portions of Brazil were a warlike

and fierce race of cannibals, cannot be doubted from the accounts given by early voyagers, although some have affected to doubt whether they were actually accustomed to devour human flesh.

During the spring following Pinzon's discovery, Pedro Alvarez Cabral accidentally came upon the Brazilian coast, as he was steering westward to avoid the terrible calms which prevail west of the tropical regions of Africa. He landed at the spot afterwards the site of Cabralia, about seventeen degrees south of Cape St. Augustine. Cabral was much more successful than his predecessor in gaining the confidence of the natives. The tribe with whom he first held intercourse was, indeed, of a more tractable and kindly disposition than those met with by Pinzon: the usual expedient of securing a prisoner, and then dismissing him with caresses and presents, brought the natives in admiring crowds about the vessel.

Cabral took possession, in behalf of the crown of Portugal, and, erecting a crucifix, ordered the ceremonials of the church to be performed, the Indians joining readily in the attitude of devotion assumed by the company.

The next Portuguese expedition, under Amerigo Vespucci, sailed from Europe in May, 1501. Land was made somewhere in the vicinity of Cape St. Roque, in five degrees south latitude, where the voyagers were horror-stricken at the discovery of the cannibal propensities of the native inhabitants. Two sailors were missing, who had been allowed to go on shore to reconnoitre, and the crew landed in the boats to ascertain their fate. A young Portuguese imprudently went forward alone to communicate with the natives, when, in plain sight of his comrades, he was set upon by the women, knocked down with a club from behind, and dragged off. An attack upon the boats immediately followed, and, although the savages were easily driven off by the fire-arms, they only retired to

dismember, broil, and feast upon the body of the man they had secured. By unmistakable gestures, they made known to the crew that the other two Portuguese had met with the same fate.

No settlement in the country was attempted until the year 1503, when twenty-four men were left at the port of All Saints. Private adventurers commenced colonies at various points upon the coast during the ensuing years, making the collection of the wood from which the country derives its name, the principal object of their efforts. A most bloody and savage warfare soon broke out between these settlers and the native inhabitants, in which either party seemed to strive for prëeminence in cruelty. A system of transporting criminals from the old country to Brazil served to debase the character of the colonies. In warfare with the Indians, on the one hand, the prisoners were slain and eaten; and on the other, all were put to death except such as would be valuable for slaves.

Meantime, the rage for discovery brought out divers adventurers from the Old World. In 1509, Don Juan de Solis, accompanied by Vicente Pinzon, and commissioned by the king of Castile, coasted as far south as the mouth of the La Plata, entering upon his route the magnificent harbor of Rio Janeiro. The tragic fate of this commander is thus described by Southey: While in the immense estuary of the river, "the natives invited him to shore, and he landed with a boat's-crew, intending to catch one of them and carry him to Spain. Their intention was worse than his, and better executed. They had stationed a party in ambush, who rose suddenly upon the crew, seized the boat, broke it to pieces in an instant, and slew every man with clubs: then they took the bodies upon their shoulders, carried them to a spot which was out of the reach of the Spaniards, but within sight, and there dismembered, roasted, and devoured them. The scene of

this tragedy was on the north shore, between Monte Video and Maldonado, near a rivulet, which still bears the name of Solis."

The circumstances connected with the first settlement of Bahia de Todos Santos, the province of which St. Salvador was afterwards the capital, are singularly striking. A young man, from Viana, named Diogo Alvarez, was one of a ship's company who had been cast away upon the neighboring shoals. Of those who reached the shore in safety, Diogo was the only one fortunate enough to escape being devoured. He managed to gain the good-will of the Indians by his services, and more especially commanded their respect and reverence by his management of a musket, which, with a store of ammunition, he had saved from the wreck. They denominated him Caramuru, "the man of fire," and exalted him to the rank of a great chief and captain. In wars against the nation of the Tapuyas, the terror of Diogo's wonderful weapon gained the most signal victories for his associates: in reward for his services, the principal men of the country gave him their daughters for wives, and he lived like a sovereign surrounded by reverential attendants. According to Southey, "He fixed his abode where Villa Velha was afterwards erected; and soon saw as numerous a progeny as an old patriarch's rising around him. The best families in Bahia trace their origin to him."

Diogo took advantage of the arrival of a French vessel upon the coast to return to Europe, taking with him one of his wives, named Paraguaza. As the ship got under weigh, several of his other consorts gave proof of their affection by swimming after it, and one of them persisted in the hopeless endeavor to follow, until so exhausted that she perished before being able to return to shore. The king and queen of France showed great attention to Diogo and his wife, and by their directions the latter was bap-

tized with much ceremony, and joined to her husband by a legal marriage according to the rules of the church.

By the assistance of a rich merchant, Diogo afterwards returned to Bahia with many conveniences for establishing himself in security and comfort, and for the arrangement of a regular system of traffic in the productions of the country. He proved of inestimable service, in after years, when an extensive colonization of that region took place, in keeping up friendly relations with the Indians. From this central point, where St. Salvador was built, commenced that wonderful influence exerted by the Jesuit missionaries over the native population.

These enthusiastic devotees found their proselytes not unapt in acquiring the Portuguese language, and by the attractions of music, of which they were passionately fond, together with kind treatment and virtuous example, they won over great numbers to a conformation to the outward requisitions of their faith, if not to an understanding of its abstractions. One thing, however, seemed almost impracticable, and that was to eradicate the inordinate propensity to cannibalism, so universally diffused among the Brazilian aborigines. An anecdote upon this point, related by Mr. Southey, has been often told, but will bear repetition: "A Jesuit one day found a Brazilian woman in extreme old age, and almost at the point of death. Having catechised her, instructed her, as he conceived, in the nature of Christianity, and completely taken care of her soul, he began to inquire whether there was any kind of food which she could take? 'Grandam,' said he, 'if I were to get you a little sugar now, or a mouthful of some of our nice things which we bring from beyond sea, do you think you could eat it?' 'Ah, my grandson,' said the old convert, 'my stomach goes against every thing. There is but one thing which I fancy I could touch. If I had the little hand of a little tender Tapuya boy, I think I could pick the

little bones; but, woe is me, there is nobody to go out and shoot one for me!'"

In addition to the instructions and persuasions of the Jesuits, the Portuguese colonial authorities lent their aid to enforce the regulations prohibiting this unnatural custom, but it was long a bone of contention between them and their Indian dependents, who were willing to give up any other of their national usages rather than this. Purchas gives the following description of some of the ceremonies attendant upon the disposal of prisoners taken in battle:

"Their captiues they conuey in the middest of their armie home to their territories, and thereuntoe the men will not sticke to give their sisters or daughters to performe all the duties of a wife, and feed them with the best till they rēdemand the same out of their flesh. * * When that dismall day approcheth, knowledge is given, and the men, women, and children assemble to the place appointed, and there passe the morning in drinking, and the Captiue (although he knoweth the dreadfull issue) danceth, drinketh, and frolickes it with the best."

They then lead him about the town by a rope: "Neither doth he, for all this, hang downe his head, as men here going to be hanged, but with incredible courage emblazoneth his owne worthinesse." Like the North American Indians, the victim boasts of his former exploits against his captors, with every species of taunt and provocation. He recounts those whom he has assisted to devour, and predicts a terrible retribution for his own destruction. "Then they bring him stones, & bid him reuenge his death. He hurleth them at those that stand about him, whereof there are some foure thousand, and hurteth diuers."

When he is finally dispatched, his temporary wife "comes to the carkasse, and spends a little time and passion in mourning, but her Crocodiles teares are soone dried,

and the humor fals into her teeth, which water for the first morsell." The whole process of dressing and devouring is minutely described.

Bahia was settled about the year 1550, and ten years later Rio Janeiro was founded by the Portuguese governor, after the expulsion of the French, who had attempted to gain possession of that region of country. The coast settlements were steadily increasing in stability and power, but not without further contests with the native inhabitants. Of these, the most savage and dangerous were the Botocudos, dwelling in the interior, and between the rivers Doce and Pardo, from the fifteenth to the twentieth degree of south latitude. They have always been considered as being among the most repulsive and brutish of the human race. They are supposed to be the same race as the Aymores, once the most dangerous enemies of the Portuguese settlers. Their natural figure and the conformation of their features seem, from most accounts, to be by no means unpleasing. Dwelling in a forest country, their complexion is fairer than that of many of the South American Indians; it is of a light yellowish copper color, and sufficiently transparent for a blush to be perfectly obvious. The stories of their frightful and hideous appearance may all be referred to one most barbarous custom of mutilation and deformity, prevalent among them from the earliest times. This is the insertion of a large wooden plug or button called the "botoque" into a slit in the under lip: similar appendages are worn at the ears.

This botoque is of such a size that its pressure generally causes the lower teeth eventually to fall out, and its projection gives the most hideously uncouth and brutish appearance to the countenance. The slit is made and the plug is inserted during childhood, and as the opening enlarges with time, the size of the botoque is increased until it has reached the full measure of deformity and

inconvenience. It interferes with mastication, and is every way disgusting and troublesome, but, like many scarcely less irrational and absurd customs among enlightened communities, it retains its hold to the present day.

When the botoque is removed, which operation is as easily effected as the unbuttoning a coat, a disgusting aperture is disclosed, through which the loosened and distorted teeth distinctly appear. Purchas says of some of those wild tribes of the interior, generally called Tapuyas, that on their travels, "they do carry great store of tobacco with them; and continually they have a leaf laid along their mouth, between the lip and the teeth; and, as they go, the same runneth out of the *hole* that they have in their lips."

The Botocudos are of an indolent disposition, but withal capable of enduring the greatest fatigue when occasion requires. Their muscular development is remarkably fine, and a life of exposure so hardens their skin that, without clothing, they can with perfect ease make their way through tangled brakes which would effectually impede the progress of a European. Their huts, implements, and manner of life are not unlike those of the other Eastern nations of the tropical portion of South America, with the exception of their sleeping accommodations. The hammock is not in use among them, but rude couches of bark, &c., laid upon the ground, are all that they require. They have no boats or canoes, and it has been said of them that they were entirely ignorant of the art of swimming. This appears to be an error.

The character of the Botocudos as cannibals, combined with the repulsive appearance caused by the botoque, has given them a worse reputation perhaps than they deserve. Many desirable traits are observable in their natural character, and their intellectual capacity does not seem to be inferior to the generality of South American Indians. Their aversion to labour does not result in apathy, nor do

we perceive in them that gloomy, morose, and reserved demeanor common among some of the Western Aborigines. They are spoken of as "gay, facętious, and ready to converse."

Some praise-worthy efforts have been made for the improvement and civilization of this race, the effects of which have been very satisfactory. Mr. Pritchard quotes as follows, from the records of the "Society for the Protection of the Aborigines:"

"By the exertions of Guido Marliere, to whom communications were made on the part of this society, almost at the commencement, Guido Procrane, a Botocudo Indian of great native talent, was introduced to the blessings of civilization and Christianity, and his new acquirements were directed to the amelioration of his countrymen. His exertions have been crowned with signal success, and four sections of the barbarous tribes have been brought under the influence of civilization, and taught to cultivate their soil, from which they have raised not only enough for their own support, but a surplus, which has been the means of rescuing even a portion of the white Brazilians from famine and starvation. Useful laws have been introduced among them, and Guido Procrane, in the criminal code which he has established, has set an example which legislators, the hereditary professors of Christianity, would do well to imitate, in the total exclusion of capital punishment."

CHAPTER II.

SUCCESS OF THE PORTUGUESE AGAINST THE NATIVES—THEIR CONTESTS WITH SETTLERS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE—ENGLISH COLONY AT PARAIBA—EXPULSION OF GUARANI TRIBES FROM THEIR COUNTRY ON LA PLATA—DIVISION OF BRAZILIAN NATIONS—DAILY ROUTINE OF INDIAN LIFE IN THE FORESTS—REFLECTIONS.

To continue our narrative of Portuguese settlement and colonization, the efforts of the viceroy Mem da Sa, resulted in the reduction of the savage and turbulent Botocudos. In the desultory warfare of the time, the aid of such Indian allies as were attached to the royal cause was of signal advantage.

The immense extent of fruitful sea-coast along the eastern shores of Brazil, invited adventurers from various European nations. The French, as we have seen, were repelled in their efforts to colonize the region of the La Plata, and the Portuguese were no less successful in expeling intruders from other quarters. An English settlement had been commenced at Paraiba, to the northward of Pernambuco. The colonists at this place, says Southey, "connected themselves with the native women; and in another generation the Anglo-Tupi Mamalucos might have been found dangerous neighbors, if the governor of St. Sebastians, steadily pursuing the system of his court, had not, in the fifth year of their abode, attacked and exterminated them. They who escaped from the merciless war which the Portuguese waged against all interlopers, fled into the interior, and either they were eaten by the savages, as was believed, or lived and died among them, becoming savages themselves."

Long and wearisome details of struggles for empire in the New World between the Portuguese, Spanish, and

Dutch, occupy the history of Brazil until the establishment in that country of the royal family of Portugal, in 1808. Few, except the Jesuits, seemed to have any care for the rights of the native population, or interest in their improvement. These missionaries—zealous and devoted in whatever cause, whether for good or ill, that they espoused—drew upon themselves no trifling persecution by their efforts in behalf of the Indians. Upon a settlement of the limits of jurisdiction on the La Plata, in 1750, between the Spanish and Portuguese governments, thirty thousand of the Guarani tribe were compelled to abandon their homes. These Indians had been objects of especial care to the Jesuit missionaries, and in the resistance which they naturally made to so summary a removal, they involved their spiritual guides in difficulties.

"The Indians," says Conder, "rose in all directions to oppose the mandate; but the short though vigorous resistance which they made, only left them more than ever in the power of their enemies. Great numbers were slaughtered, and those who refused to submit were compelled to leave the country. * * In the year 1761, when Carlos III. acceded to the throne of Spain, the treaty of limits was annulled; the Guaranies who had been so wantonly and cruelly expelled were instructed to return to their dilapidated town and wasted country, and the Jesuits, resuming their benignant administration, exerted themselves to repair, as far as possible, the evils that had been done."

The effects of the Catholic mission in Brazil are still visible among no small portion of the aboriginal inhabitants. Unfortunately in too many instances the religion which they now profess is but a graft upon their old superstitions.

The Indians of Brazil are divided into a great number of tribes, differing more in language than in general ap-

pearance and characteristics. The Tupis, who were the most extensively diffused over the coast country at the period of the first European discovery, are greatly reduced in numbers. The tribes of the far interior, where little or no intercourse is held with the whites, have changed but little from the habits and appearance of their ancestors. Dr. Von Martius has enumerated no less than two hundred and fifty distinct tribes or nations within the limits of Brazil; many of them, to be sure, consisting of but few families or individuals, and not sufficiently distinct one from another to render a classification useful or interesting. This traveller has given a very lively picture of the life and daily routine of these denizens of the forest. The following sketch is selected from his "Travels," and transcribed in an article upon the Brazilian Indians, to be found in that invaluable periodical, the "Penny Magazine:"

"As soon as the first rays of the sun beam on the hut of the Indian, he awakes, rises immediately, and goes to the door, where he generally spends some time in rubbing and stretching his limbs.—Returning into the hut, he looks for the still live embers of the fire of the day before, or lights it afresh by means of two dry sticks, one of which he sets upon the other, twirling it like a mill till it kindles, and then he adds dry grass or straw. All the male inhabitants then take part in the business; some drag wood out of the forest; others heap up the fire between several large stones, and all of them seat themselves round it in a squatting attitude. Without looking at or speaking to each other, they often remain for hours together in this position, solely engaged in keeping in the fire, or roasting Spanish potatoes, bananas, ears of maize, &c., in the ashes for breakfast. A tame monkey, or some other of their numerous domestic animals with which they play, serves to amuse them. The first employment of the women, on leaving their hammocks, is to paint themselves

and their children, on which each goes to her domestic occupation, stripping the threads from the palm-trees, manufacturing nets, making earthen-ware, rubbing mandioca, and pounding maize, from which they make a cooling beverage. Others go to their little plantations to fetch maize, mandioca, and beans; or into the forest to look for wild fruits and roots. When the men have finished their frugal breakfast, they prepare their bows, arrows, strings, &c."

As the heat of the day increases, the Indian takes his bath, and then systematically sets about his day's hunt; "the tapir, monkies, pigs, armadilloes, pascas, and agoutis, are his favorite dishes, but he readily eats deer, birds, turtles, and fish, and in case of need, contents himself with serpents, toads, and larvæ of large insects roasted."

The general tenor of this savage life, as well as the construction of dwellings, implements, boats, &c., is not unlike what has already been described relating to the Indians of Guiana. The same rude huts of palm, open, or closed upon the most exposed quarter by thatch or wicker-work, the hammocks, the simplest form of pottery and wooden vessels, and the almost invariable arms and weapons of the savage, suffice for their necessities, and for what they know of luxury and comfort.

Some of the remote tribes are said to be still addicted to the old national propensity for cannibalism. "Infanticide is still more common; and many tribes put the aged and infirm to death. Dr. Von Martius states that the Guaicuru women never rear any children before their thirtieth year; the Guanas often bury their female children alive, and even the mothers expose their new-born infants; and parental affection is a thing unknown on the father's side."

Can we indulge any rational hope that these barbarous nations will ever be brought, as a distinct race, within the

pale of civilization; or must the usual course of extinction or amalgamation be the only means by which the immense and luxuriantly fertile regions which they inhabit shall eventually be improved for the support of the millions that they are capable of sustaining? The Iroquois within the state of New York, and the Cherokee settlements west of the Mississippi, are almost the only prosperous and civilized districts inhabited by American Indians. It will be a most gratifying result if the next generation shall witness the original proprietors of this vast country taking, in the persons of their representatives, an equal place among its European occupants. A right state of feeling, upon the subject of what is due to the Indian, seems to be upon the ascendant in the United States, except in those districts where there is still a conflict of interest between the different races.

THE PAMPAS INDIANS.

THEIR HORSEMANSHIP—THEIR MODE OF LIFE—SIR FRANCIS HEAD'S DESCRIPTIONS OF THE RACE—FEMALE CAPTIVES AMONG THE INDIANS—TRADING VISITS TO EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS—CLASSIFICATION OF TRIBES—CHANGE IN THEIR CONDITION BY THE INTRODUCTION OF EUROPEAN DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

THE vast plains or pampas of Buenos Ayres are inhabited—where European settlements have not yet extended—by a wild and singular race of Indians. To them the horse is all that the rein-deer is to the Laplanders, constituting their chief support, and almost their only enjoyment. Nearly destitute of clothing, and careless of the ordinary conveniences and comforts of life, they are trained from infancy to scour the plains, often without saddles, upon the wild horses who roam at will over the boundless expanse of meadow. The world has never produced such magnificent horsemen: "The Gauchos," says Sir Francis Head, "who themselves ride so beautifully, all declare that it is impossible to ride with an Indian; for that the Indians' horses are better than theirs, and also that they have such a way of urging on their horses by their cries, and by a peculiar motion of their bodies, that even if they were to change horses, the Indians would beat them. The Gauchos all seemed to dread very much the Indians' spears. They said that some of the Indians charged without either saddle or bridle, and that in some instances they were hanging almost under the bellies of their horses, and shrieking so that the horses were afraid to face them."

The whole lives of these singular people are spent upon horseback, a natural result of which is an incapacity for other species of exertion. Walking is intolerable to them: the fatigue and tediousness of such a mode of travelling over an unlimited level, would be disheartening to any, more particularly to those who have continually availed themselves of the services of the horse.

Something of the ordinary system of Indian government exists among the numerous tribes, but they are all of unsettled and roving habits, shifting their quarters continually in search of better pasturage, and subsisting chiefly upon mares' flesh. Wherever they betake themselves, they drive before them great herds of horses, and the skill with which they will catch, mount, and manage a fresh animal, when the one they have been riding is wearied, is unequalled.

The author above quoted, whose characteristically graphic description of a gallop across the pampas has won so extensive a reputation, observes of the Indians: "The occupation of their lives is war, which they consider is their noble and most natural employment: and they declare that the proudest attitude of the human figure is when, bending over his horse, man is riding at his enemy. The principal weapon which they use is a spear eighteen feet long; they manage it with great dexterity, and are able to give it a tremulous motion which has often shaken the sword from the hand of their European adversaries." In addition to the spear, they make use, both in war and hunting, of a most effective instrument called the ballos. This is a species of slung-shot, consisting of a stout leathern thong with a ball of lead attached to either end. A terrible blow can be struck with this weapon, and, as a missile, the Indians use it with great dexterity and effect within a moderate range. The lasso, or long noose attached to the saddle, is also an effective implement.

Between them and the Gauchos, a scarcely less wild race of cavaliers, principally of Spanish descent, the most deadly hostility constantly prevails. In the exposed districts, rude fortifications are erected for the protection of the white inhabitants against Indian incursions. The principal defence of these fortresses is said to be a narrow ditch, over which the Indian horses, accustomed to the unobstructed level of the prairie, refuse to leap, and nothing could induce their rider to attempt any thing upon foot. Upon occasion of a successful assault, the savages show little mercy. All the unfortunate whites are murdered, except such of the young women as appear sufficiently attractive to make desirable wives. "Whether the poor girls can ride or not," says Head, "they are instantly placed upon horses, and when the hasty plunder of the hut is concluded, they are driven away from its smoking ruins and from the horrid scene which surrounds it."

"At a pace which in Europe is unknown, they gallop over the trackless regions before them, fed upon mares' flesh, sleeping on the ground, until they arrive in the Indian's territory, when they have instantly to adopt the wild life of their captors.

"I was informed by a very intelligent French officer, who was of high rank in the Peruvian army, that on friendly terms, he had once passed through part of the territory of these Pampas Indians, in order to attack a tribe who were at war with them, and that he had met several of the young women who had been thus carried off by the Indians.

"He told me that he had offered to obtain permission for them to return to their country, and that he had, in addition, offered them large sums of money if they would, in the mean while, act as interpreters; but they all replied that no inducement in the world should ever make them leave their husbands, or their children, and that they were quite delighted with the life they led."

There is certainly something strangely fascinating in the idea of a wild life, unfettered by the artificial restraints of society, and the constant call for exertion and care incident to civilized existence. We see that in a majority of cases the inhabitants of even the most desolate and inhospitable regions of the earth, after experiencing the comforts of civilization, are still glad to return to the scenes and habits to which they were early inured. It is easier for the educated and enlightened European to discard the advantages which he has inherited, and to adopt the habits and life of the savage, especially in a genial and spontaneously productive clime, than for the latter to give up his wild freedom for the responsibilities and cares of civilization.

In times of peace the free rovers of the South American pampas make occasional visits to the European towns and settlements for the purpose of trade. They bring in such few articles of peltry, &c., as they deal in, to barter for sugar, "knives, spurs, and liquor." Delivering up all their dangerous weapons to their chief, they devote themselves, at first, to a regular drinking-bout, after recovering from which, they offer their goods to the trades-people. They will have nothing to do with money, or the ordinary rules of weight and measure, but designate, by some mark of their own, the quantity of the commodity they require in exchange for their own stock.

The Pampas Indians are classified as belonging to the great Patagonian or Pampean groupe, which is divided into the following nations: the Tehuelche, Puelche, Charrua, Mbocobi or Toba, Mataguayo, Abipones, and Lengua. That portion of which we have been speaking in this chapter, consists principally of the Puelche: their ancestors were found further north, bordering upon the tribes of Paraguay and upon the first arrival and settlement of Europeans upon the La Plata, proved most formidable enemies.

They also inhabited the eastern mountainous regions of Chili, where they were allied to and classed with the noble and warlike Araucanians. Molina, in his account of that race, says of the Puelches: "These, although they conform to the general customs of the nation, always discover a greater rudeness and savageness of manners. Their name signifies Eastern-men. * * The Araucanians hold these mountaineers in high estimation for the important services which they occasionally render them, and for the fidelity which they have always observed in their alliance with them."

The first town built upon the site of the present city of Buenos Ayres, in 1534, was destroyed by the Indians; and their bold attacks repelled the Spanish adventurers in this quarter until 1580. Even then they renewed their hostilities, but the fall of their chief cacique in battle, and the more efficient fortification of the new town, baffled them and caused their entire defeat.

In these early times their habits were of course different from what we may now notice, as horses and cattle were not introduced until the arrival of Europeans. The emu or American ostrich, still an inhabitant of the Pampas, the deer, sloth, and small game, supplied them with food. The unprecedented natural increase of cattle and horses, turned free to roam over the rich grassy savannahs, supplied them with entirely new resources.

Those Indians of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, and other southern provinces, who live in the midst of the white settlements, are mostly Christian converts, at least in name and the observance of religious formulæ.

The extent to which the different nations of Europe, Africa, and America have become mixed in most of the South American provinces, renders any thing like accurate enumeration of the amount of the present Indian population difficult, if not impossible.

THE PATAGONIANS.

EARLY EXAGGERATED REPORTS CONCERNING THEM—RACE TO WHICH THEY BELONG—NATURE OF THE COUNTRY—TERRA DEL FUEGO—GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE INHABITANTS—CAPTAIN FITZROY'S NARRATIVE—PHYSICAL CONFORMATION OF THE NATIVES—SCANTINESS OF THEIR CLOTHING—THEIR HUTS, RESOURCES FOR FOOD, ETC.—FUEGIANS CARRIED TO ENGLAND BY FITZROY—ATTEMPT AT THE INTRODUCTION OF AGRICULTURE ON THE ISLAND—PECHERAIS DESCRIBED IN WILKES' NARRATIVE OF THE U. STATES' EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

Most extravagant reports were circulated, in early times, of the gigantic size of the natives of the southern extremity of the American continent. These were not wholly fabulous, but merely exaggerations, as from recent travellers we have accurate descriptions of various tribes, among which the average height of the men greatly exceeds that of mankind in general. The Tehuelches in particular, although less warlike and dangerous than many other nations, are noted for their gigantic proportions. They are said to be more than six feet in height, upon an average, and some of them considerably exceed that measure: They are muscular, and athletic in proportion.

The Patagonian tribes are included under the same general classification with the Puelches of the pampas, and the numerous nations further north, spread over the vast and indeterminate region denominated Chaco, between Paraguay and Chili. Over the extensive plains, and table-land between the Andes and the eastern sea-board, the

wild tribes of Patagonia wander in undisturbed freedom. Their manner of life is similar to that of the Pampas Indians of Southern Buenos Ayres, as wild horses and cattle have spread over the northern parts of their country in almost equal abundance. The same fierce, untameable spirit, and the same carelessness of the comforts of life, with ability to endure the extremes of exposure and fatigue, characterize all these races of centaurs. Even in the colder regions of the extreme south, little in the way of clothing is worn, and the naked body of the savage is exposed to snows and storms, against which the covering of the European would afford incomplete protection.

"These men," says Purchas, speaking of those near the straits of Magellan, "both Giants and others, went either wholly naked, or so clothed, as they seemed not to dread the cold, which is yet there so violent, that besides the mountaine-toppes, alway couered with Snow, their very Summers, in the middest thereof, freeth them not from ice."

A great portion of Patagonia is sterile and barren, destitute of timber, and covered only with a kind of coarse grass, or with thorny shrubs. The country rises in a series of terraces from the low eastern sea-coast to the range of the Andes. The northern districts are in many parts fertile and heavily timbered.

Crossing the Straits of Magellan, we find one of the most miserable and desolate countries on the globe. Terra del Fuego, the land of fire, so called because of the numerous fires seen upon its coast by the early navigators, is a cold and barren island. The surface of the country is either rocky and mountainous, or of such a cold and miry soil as to obstruct travel and improvement. The forests are rendered nearly impassable by under-growth. The inhabitants are partly, as would appear, of the same race with the Patagonians, but as a body they are generally classed with the Andian Groupe, and considered to have some

affinity to the Araucanians. "One description," says Pritchard, "is applicable to both nations. Their heads are proportionably large; their faces round, with projecting cheek-bones, large mouths, thick lips, short flattened noses, with wide nostrils; their eyes are horizontally placed, and not inclined; otherwise their countenance would approximate greatly to that of the nomadic Tartars: they have little beard; their foreheads are narrow, and falling back; their chins broad and short."

Among the most interesting accounts of these Indians is that given by Captain Fitzroy, in the "Narrative of the Voyages of the Adventure and the Beagle." Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, commander of the United States' exploring expedition, has also very graphically described the appearance and peculiarities of the people and country.

Fitzroy estimates the whole population at about three thousand adults. They are divided into five different tribes or nations, viz: the Yacanas, Tekeenicas, Alikhoolip, Pecherais, and Huemuls. The name of Pecherais was bestowed by Bougainville (as descriptive of their mode of subsistence) upon those coast Indians who have been considered as belonging to the Araucanian family. The Yacanas appear to be the same with the neighboring Patagonians.

The separate tribes differ considerably in their physical development, but the generality of these islanders present a wretched and miserable aspect of deformity. Their withered and emaciated limbs are in strong contrast to the breadth of the chest and the size of the abdomen, and the squatting position always assumed by them when at rest, causes the skin of the knee-joint to become stretched and loose: when standing, it hangs in unsightly folds. Their eyes are almost universally inflamed and sore from the effects of the smoke in their wigwams. There are few races upon the globe who bear so strongly the marks of want and destitution.

Unlike the natives of the cold climes of Northern America, the Fuegians totally neglect the precaution of fortifying themselves against the severities of winter by warm and comfortable clothing. The majority of the men go almost entirely naked. A single skin of the guanaco (a southern quadruped of the genus of the llama), or of the different species of seal, thrown over the shoulders, and, in a few instances, reduced to the semblance of a garment, by a girdle, is all that is seen in the way of clothing. Some slight fillets are worn about the head, rather from a fancy for ornament than as a covering. The females usually wear an entire guanaco skin, in the loose fold of which, above the belt, they carry their infants: a more convenient method than that adopted in some northern climes, of stowing the child in the huge boot.

The huts which they inhabit are built, much after the fashion of the ordinary Indian wigwam, of poles bent together at the top, or of stiff stakes placed in the form of a cone. These rude dwellings are neither tight nor comfortable: they are generally intended merely for temporary domiciles, as the necessity for constant migration in search of the products of the sea and coast, renders any permanent settlement impracticable. The arts of agriculture are entirely unknown or disregarded. Sundry attempts have been made to introduce the cultivation of such vegetables as the soil is adapted to producing, but the ignorance and barbarity of the inhabitants prevented their appreciation of the advantages which would result from the operation, and the experiments utterly failed.

Most of the Fuegians are supplied with roughly-constructed bark canoes. In the centre of these a fire is always kept burning upon a bed of sand or clay. Fire is obtained by striking sparks from the iron pyrites upon a tinder prepared from some dried fungus, or moss, which materials are always kept at hand; but the difficulty of

obtaining a flame by these means is the probable reason for their care in preserving the embers in their canoes.

As we have mentioned, they raise no vegetable food, and the natural products of the country are exceedingly scanty. All that the inhabitants can procure to vary their animal diet of fish, seals, shell-fish, &c., consists of "a few berries, as the cranberry and the berry of the arbutus; also a fungus like the oak-apple, which grows on the birch-tree. With the exception of these spontaneous productions, and dead whales thrown occasionally upon the coast, the rest of their food must be obtained by their own perseverance, activity, and sagacity."

A race of dogs is domesticated among the Fuegians, by the assistance of which the labor and difficulty of hunting the guanaco, otter, &c., is materially alleviated. The weapons used in war or for the chase are bows and arrows, short bone-headed lances, clubs, and slings. The Fuegians are adepts in the use of the last-mentioned implement, and hurl stones with great force and accuracy.

They have no means of preserving a store of provision in times of plenty, and are consequently liable to suffer greatly from famine when storms or other causes cut them off from the usual resources of the sea. They will sometimes bury a quantity of whale's blubber in the sand, and devour it in an offensive condition, when pressed by hunger. "In Captain Fitzroy's narrative there is an account of a party of the natives who were in a famishing state, on which some of the tribe departed, observing that they would return in four 'sleeps' with a supply of food. On the fifth day they arrived in a state of great exhaustion, each man carrying two or three pieces of whale-blubber, in a half-putrid state, and which appeared as if it had been buried in the sand. A hole was made in each piece through which the man carrying it inserted his head and neck." Report says that, as a last resource, when other food can-

not be obtained, the Fuegians kill and feed upon the older and more unserviceable members of their own community.

The benevolent Fitzroy, deeply interested in the welfare of these unfortunate islanders, made an attempt, in 1830, to effect some improvement in their condition. He took four of them with him to England, one of whom died of the small-pox shortly after landing. The others were maintained and instructed, at the captain's own expense, until October of the following year, when he took them on board the Beagle to return to their homes, and use their influence in introducing the arts and comforts of civilization. One Matthews accompanied them from England, with the purpose of assisting their efforts among their countrymen.

Arriving at Terra del Fuego, wigwams were built, and a garden was laid out and planted with various European esculents. Curiosity and astonishment were the first feelings excited by these operations; but after the departure of the captain, the rude natives, unable to comprehend the motives for the experiment, and incapable of appreciating the advantages in store for them, destroyed the little plantation. Jemmy Button, the one most particularly described of those carried to England, when seen, a few years afterwards, by Captain Fitzroy, had nearly relapsed into his original state of squalid barbarity. Matthews left the island upon the first failure of the attempt at agriculture.

Could there be found men of sufficient self-devotion to be willing to take up their abode in such a dreary country, there seems to be reason to believe that the Fuegians might be reclaimed. They do not lack sagacity or intelligence, and their memories are remarkably retentive. It is said that "they could repeat with perfect correctness each word in any sentence addressed to them, and they remembered such words for some time."

The Fuegians described by Commander Wilkes, as seen

at Orange Harbor, were of the Pecherais tribe. His descriptions correspond with those of former voyagers, but their interest is greatly heightened by the illustrations which accompany his valuable narrative. "They are," he says, "an ill-shapen and ugly race. They have little or no idea of the relative value of articles, even of those that one would suppose were of the utmost use to them, such as iron and glass-ware. A glass bottle broken into pieces is valued as much as a knife. Red flannel torn into stripes, pleases them more than in the piece; they wound it round their heads, as a kind of turban, and it was amusing to see their satisfaction at this small acquisition."

The Indians of this party wore no other clothing than a small piece of seal-skin appended to the shoulder and reaching to the waist. This was shifted from side to side according to the direction of the wind, serving rather as a shelter than a covering. Their bark canoes were of exceedingly slight construction, "sewed with shreds of whale-bone, seal-skin, and twigs." Their navigation was mostly confined to the limits of the kelp or sea-weed, where the water was calm, and they could assist the operation of their small and inefficient paddles by laying hold of the marine plants.

Those natives who were taken on board the vessels, exhibited little or no astonishment at what they saw around them. This did not proceed from surliness or apathy, for they were vivacious and cheerful, and apparently happy and contented. A most uncontrollable propensity to mimicry prevented the establishment of any kind of communication, as, instead of replying to signs and gestures, they would invariably imitate them with ludicrous exactness. "Their imitations of sounds were truly astonishing. One of them ascended and descended the octave perfectly, following the sounds of the violin correctly. It was then found he could sound the common chords, and follow-

through the semitone scale, with scarcely an error. * * * Although they have been heard to shout quite loud, yet they cannot endure a noise. When the drum beat, or a gun was fired, they invariably stopped their ears. They always speak to each other in a whisper. Their cautious manner and movements prove them to be a timid race. The men are exceedingly jealous of their women, and will not allow any one, if they can help it, to enter their huts, particularly boys."

When, after some hesitation, admittance was gained to the huts on shore: "The men creeping in first, squatted themselves directly in front of the women, all holding out the small piece of seal-skin, to allow the heat to reach their bodies. The women were squatted three deep behind the men, the oldest in front, nestling the infants." Most writers speak of the condition of the Fuegian women, particularly of this race of Pecherais, as being subjected to the most severe and toilsome drudgery. "In a word," says one, "the Pecherais women are, perhaps, of all the savage women of America, those whose lot is the hardest." Those, however, seen at Orange Harbor had small and well-shaped hands and feet, "and, from appearance, they are not accustomed to do any hard work."

Some vague superstitious belief in dreams, omens, &c., with the idea of an evil spirit in the embodiment of "a great black man, supposed to be always wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action, who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to men's conduct," is all that is observable of religious conceptions on the part of the natives. They have, connected with each tribe or casual groupe, a man whom their fancy invests with the power of sorcerer and physician; occupying precisely the same position with that of the "powows" of North America.

IMPORTANT ERAS AND DATES

OF

INTERESTING EVENTS IN INDIAN HISTORY.

A. D.

544. The Toltecs, according to ancient traditions, commenced their migration from the north to the vale of Anahuac, or Mexico.
648. The Toltecs arrived at Tollantzinco, in Anahuac.
982. Eirek the Red discovered Greenland, and planted a colony there.
985. Biarni Heriulfson discovered the American coast.
1008. Thorfinn Karlsefni planted a colony in New England.
1051. The Toltecs destroyed by a pestilence.
1070. The barbarous nation of the Chichimecas succeeded the Toltecs.
1170. The Nahuatlacas, or Seven Tribes, among whom were the Aztecs, commenced their migration from the north.
1325. The Aztecs founded the city of ancient Mexico.
1492. Oct. 12. Columbus landed at Guanahani, or Cat Island, on his first voyage of discovery.
1498. Columbus first touched the shores of South America, and held intercourse with the Arawaks.
1500. Jan. 26. Vicente Pinzon landed near Cape St. Augustine, at the eastern extremity of South America, and took formal possession.
1501. Portuguese discoverers, under Vespucius, landed at Brazil.
1509. Juan de Solis slain by the natives at the estuary of La Plata.
1518. L. Velasquez de Ayllon landed on the Carolina coast in search of Indian slaves and gold.
1519. Nov. 8. Cortez entered the city of Mexico, and held his first interview with the Emperor Montezuma.
1520. Night of July 1. The "Noche Triste," on which the Spaniards made their disastrous retreat from the city of Mexico.
1521. Towards the close of May, the Spaniards, with rëinforcements, having again advanced upon the Aztec capital, laid close siege to it.
" Aug. 13. Gautimozin, successor to Montezuma, was taken prisoner, and the city fell into the power of the Spanish invaders.
1524. Nov. Francisco Pizarro sailed on his first expedition to Peru.
1528. Expedition of Pamphilo de Narvaez to Florida, with a party of four hundred men. About forty horses were landed—the first ever seen by the natives.
1531. Pizarro landed and established himself in Peru.
1532. Nov. 15. Entry of Pizarro into Caxamalca, and first interview of his officers with the Inca, Atahuallpa.
" Nov. 16. Horrible massacre of the Indians, and seizure of the Inca.
1533. Aug. 29. Atahuallpa infamously put to death, by the garrotte.
" Nov. Entry of the Spaniards into Cuzco, the capital of Peru.
1535. Almagro's expedition into Chili.

A. D.

1538. May. Fernando de Soto landed at Tampa Bay. The bloody scenes attendant upon the conquest of Florida ensued.
1540. Pedro Valdivia's invasion of Chili.
1552. His progress through Araueo.
1553. Dec. 3. Great battle between the Spaniards and the Araucanians, in which the latter, under Caupolican, gained a signal victory.
1555. The Spanish town of Conception attacked and destroyed by the Araucanians, under Lautaro.
1556. Lautaro surprised and slain by Villagran.
1558. Expedition of Garcia de Mendoza to the archipelago of Chiloe.
1562 French refugees settled peaceably among the Indians on the St. John's river, Florida.
1584. Amidas and Barlow opened a friendly intercourse with the Virginia Indians.
1585. Those belonging to Sir Richard Grenville's expedition to Virginia commenced outrages and hostilities, which resulted in the destruction of several successive colonies.
1595. Raleigh entered the Orinoco, and held intercourse with the natives.
1598. Nov. Great rising of the Chilians, under the Toqui Paillamachu: expulsion of the Spaniards from the Araucanian territory.
1606. Bartholomew Gosnoll's expedition to Virginia; with which the celebrated Captain John Smith was connected.
1608. June. Smith's exploration of the Chesapeake, his first meeting with the Massawomekes, or Iroquois.
" In the autumn of this year, Powhatan was formally crowned—the regalia having been sent over from England.
" Dec. Powhatan's conspiracy against Smith and his party, and their preservation by Pocahontas.
1613. Pocahontas seized and detained by Captain Argall.
" April. Marriage of Pocahontas to John Rolfe.
1614. Thomas Hunt landed at Monhegan, and enticed twenty-four Indians on board his vessel, whom he carried to Europe as slaves.
1617. Pocahontas died, at Gravesend, in England.
1618. Powhatan died.
1620. Nov. 9. The May-Flower arrived.
" Dec. 8. First skirmish of the N. England settlers with the natives.
" Dec. 22. Their landing at Plymouth.
1621. March 22. Treaty between the Plymouth settlers and Massasoit.
1622. March 22. Great massacre of the Virginia settlers, by the Indians, set on by Opechancanough: three hundred and forty-seven killed.
1625. Great battle with the Caribs on the island of St. Christopher; two thousand of that nation destroyed.
1628. Fire-arms extensively diffused among the Indians of New England, by Dutch traders and one Thomas Morton.
1637. The Pequod War broke out: siege of the English garrison at Saybrook.
" June 5. A little before day the Pequod fort attacked and destroyed; barbarous destruction of women and children.
1640. Peace concluded between the Spanish colonists under Francisco Zuniga, and the Araucanians.

A. D.

1643. Miantonimo put to death by Uncas.
1644. Second Virginia massacre, planned by Opechancanough.
1653. The nation of the Eries exterminated by the Iroquois.
1662. Philip, or Metacomet, succeeded his brother Alexander.
1665. Peace again concluded between the Spaniards and Araucanians.
1675. June 24. O. S. First blood shed in King Philip's war.
1675. Dec. 19. Destruction of the Narragansett fort.
1676. Aug. 12. Philip killed by an Indian of Captain Church's party.
" Aug. Capture of Annawon, by Church, and end of the war.
1682. Dec. First treaty of William Penn with the Delawares.
1688. Invasion of Canada, and attack on Montreal by the Iroquois.
1710. First deputation of Iroquois chiefs to the court of Queen Anne.
1711. Sept. 22. Massacre of whites in North Carolina, by the Tuscaroras.
1713. March 26. The Tuscarora fort on Tar river destroyed by Colonel Moore—eight hundred prisoners taken.
" Union of the main body of the Tuscaroras with the Iroquois.
1729. Nov. 30. Massacre of the French inhabitants of Natchez, by the Natchez Indians.
1738. Nearly one-half of the Cherokees destroyed by the small-pox.
1749. Singular intrigues of the Reverend Thomas Bosomworth and his wife, the half-breed, Mary Musgrove, among the Creeks.
1750. Settlement of difficulties between Spanish and Portuguese colonies on the river La Plata—thirty thousand Guarani Indians expatriated.
1755. July 9. Disastrous defeat of General Braddock, by the French and Indians, a few miles from Fort Duquesne.
1759. Winter. War between the Cherokees and the British colonists.
1760. Spring. Colonel Montgomery's expedition against the Cherokees destruction of all their towns east of the Blue Ridge.
1761. Spring. Colonel Grant's campaign against the Cherokees: their reduction, and the ravage of their towns in the interior.
1763. May. Siege of Detroit commenced by Pontiac.
" July 30. Battle of Bloody Bridge, and terrible destruction of English troops under Captain Dalyell, by Pontiac and his warriors.
1773. Peace concluded between the Spaniards and the Araucanians.
1774. In the spring of this year commenced the bloody war in Western Virginia and Pennsylvania, known as Cresap's war.
" Oct. 10. Great battle at Point Pleasant—mouth of the Kanawha.
1777. July. Battle of Oriskany; General Herkimer mortally wounded.
1778, July 4. Destruction of the settlements in the valley of Wyoming.
" Nov. Massacre at Cherry-Valley.
1779. Sept. General Sullivan's campaign against the Iroquois: destruction of all their towns, crops, fruit-trees, and stores.
1780. Aug. Ravage of a portion of the Mohawk valley, by Brant.
1781. Great insurrection of the Peruvian Indians, under Tupac Amaru.
" June. Grand council of war held by the western tribes.
" Defeat of Colonels Todd, Trigg, and party, near the Blue Licks.
" Indian towns of Chilicothe, Pecaway, &c., destroyed by Gen. Clarke.
1785. Brant visited England, and was received with flattering attention.
1786. Dec. Grand Council of Western Indians, at Huron Village.
1791. Autumn. Unsuccessful expedition of General Harmar.

640

A. D.

1791. Nov. 4. Disastrous defeat of General St. Clair, by the Indians, under Little Turtle, near the Miami.
1794. Aug. 20. Battle of Presque Isle, in which the Western Indians, under Blue Jacket, were signally defeated by General Wayne.
1804. Elskwatawa, the prophet, brother of Tecumseh, engaged in intrigues among the tribes of the west.
1809. Sept. Cession of lands on the Wabash, obtained by General Harrison from the Indians.
1810. Departure of Tecumseh southward, for the purpose of rousing up the Creeks, Cherokees, &c.
1811. Night of Nov. 6. Battle at the Prophet's Town, in which Elskwatawa's forces were defeated and dispersed by General Harrison.
1813. Aug. 30. Sack of Fort Mimms, in the Tensau settlement, by the great Creek warrior Weatherford, with fifteen hundred Indians.
1813. Oct. 5. Battle of the Thames: the great Indian chief Tecumseh killed.
1813. Nov. 29. Battle of Autosse; destruction of two hundred Indians by General Floyd's forces, aided by Indian allies led by M'Intosh.
1814. March 27. Battle of Horse-shoe Bend, in the Tallapoosie: the Creeks and other southern Indians defeated by General Jackson.
1823. Sept. 18. Treaty of Moultrie Creek, by which the Seminoles were to remove within certain limits.
1829. Dec. 20. Acts passed by the Georgia legislature, annulling the Cherokee laws, and infringing upon the rights of that people.
1830. July. Treaty at Prairie du Chien, with the Sacs and Foxes, Iowas, Sioux, &c., concerning cession of lands east of the Mississippi.
1831. June. General Gaines' expedition, to compel removal of the Sacs.
1832. May 8. Treaty of Payne's Landing, by the provisions of which the Seminoles were to remove west of the Mississippi.
" May 14. Defeat of Major Stillman and his forces, by Black-Hawk.
" Aug. 2. Black-Hawk's forces defeated by General Atkinson.
" " 27. Surrender of Black-Hawk and the Prophet.
1835. Oct. The Florida War commenced.
" Dec. Treaty of New Echota with the Cherokees, (known as Schermerhorn's treaty) upon the subject of removal of that nation west of the Mississippi.
" Dec. 28. Destruction of Dade's detachment, by the Seminoles.
1836. March 14. Schermerhorn's treaty with the Cherokees ratified by Congress.
1836. Spring. General Scott's campaign in Florida.
1837. Jan. 22. General Jessup moved southward towards the everglades in pursuit of the Seminoles.
1838. Oct. 3. Black-Hawk died, at the age of 73.
1842. The Florida war at an end: several hundred Indians transported west of the Mississippi.

THE END.

BIBLIOTHECA Ottaviensis

the Indians,

stern Indians,
eral Wayne.
engaged in

l by General

se of rousing

hich Elskwa-
al Harrison.
ement, by the
dred Indians.
ef Tecumseh

dred Indians
by M'Intosh.
lapoosie: the
eral Jackson.
minoles were

nmulling the
dian people.
Foxes, Iowas,
Mississippi.
of the Saes.
ons of which
ppi.
Black-Hawk.
tkinson.

(known as
oval of that

Seminoles.
s ratified by

e everglades

transported